shaping the destiny of the nation. This is true of the States also. Since ours is a federal polity, it is proper that the States are given adequate representation in the bureaucracy.

Even now there are examinations conducted on the basis of *inter se* merit, regionwise. The examination conducted by the Staff Selection Commission for the posts of Inspectors of Income-Tax, Customs and Central Excise etc., is based on *inter se* merit in that particular region or zone.

If this is done, the problems faced by the UPSC in allowing candidates to take examinations and interviews in their mother tongue will also be solved. Therefore, I appeal to the Government to consider this favourably, make necessary changes in the Civil Services Examination Rules and select candidates on Statewise *inter se* merit. with these words, I conclude.

Thank you, Sir.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MD. SALIM): We have to take up further discussion on the budget today, and five-and-a-half hours' discussion is left. We have to finish the discussion also. So, we can meet at two o'clock to take up further discussion on the Budget. ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRIMATI RENUKA CHOWDHURY (Andhra Pradesh): How many speakers are there?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MD. SALIM): The number of speakers does not matter, but the time they will take does matter.

SHRIMATI RENUKA CHOWDHURY: If there are many speakers, we can come back at two o'clock.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MD. SALIM): We can adjourn now for lunch till two o'clok. At two o'clock, we can take up further discussion on the Budget. We will try to finish it. We have to finish it today.

Now the House is adjourned for lunch till two o'clock.

The House then adjourned for lunch at nineteen minutes past one of the clock.

2.05 P.M.

The House reassembled after lunch at five minutes past two of the clock, *The Vice-Chairman* **(Shri V. Narayanasamy)** *in the Chair.*

THE BUDGET (GENERAL), 1997-98—Contd.)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY): Now, we will take up further discussion on the Budget (General), 1997-98. Shri Jagannath Mishra.

डा० जगन्नाथ मिश्र (बिहार): उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, 1997-98 के बजट प्रस्तावों से सामान्यजन के मन में एक बड़ी उदासी आयी है और यह अवधारणा बनी है कि संभवतः संयुक्त मोर्चा की सरकार ने देश के ग्रामीण एवं गरीब लोगों के हितों की उपेक्षा की है और सुखी, सम्पन्न, संगठित वर्गों की सेवा करने का प्रयास किया है। जिन्हें आवश्यकता नहीं थी, उन्हें राहत दी गयी है और जिन्हें आवश्यकता थी, उनके लिए कोई प्रावधान विशेष रूप से नहीं किया गया है। ऐसा लगता है कि संयुक्त मोर्चा की सरकार ने राजनैतिक कारणों से उन सबकी आवाज बंद करने की कोशिश की है, जो सरकार के लिए खतरा हो सकते थे और उसके कायम रहने में बाधाएं उत्पन्न कर सकते थे। चूंकि ग्रामीण लोग संगठित नहीं हैं, गरीबों की आवाज संगठित नहीं है इसलिए उनकी बातें अनसुनी हुई हैं। बजट प्रस्तावों से यह दिखाई देता है। महोदय, कोई औचित्य नहीं था कारपोरेट सैक्टर में सरचार्ज की माफी करने का, कोई औचित्य नहीं था इनकम टैक्स के रेट घटाने का, कोई औचित्य नहीं था स्टैंडर्ड डिडक्शन में वृद्धि करने का और कोई औचित्य नहीं था डिवीडेंड पर कर माफी करने का। इन लोगों को न रोजी-रोटी की समस्या थी, न मकान की समस्या थी और न ही कपड़े की समस्या थी। तो फिर इन्हें राहत देने का क्या औचित्य हो सकता है?

दूसरी और सामाजिक सेवा के कार्यों में, यह बजट में दर्शाया गया है कुल राशि पिछले वर्षों की तुलना में बढ़ायी गयी है लेकिन जी०डी०पी० के कान्टैक्स्ट में अगर

देखा जाए तो कांग्रेस शासन के अंतिम वर्ष में जी०डी०पी० का 1.7 प्रतिशत सामाजिक सेवाओं के लिए आबंटित था। 1996-97 के बजट में जी०डी०पी० का 1.5 प्रतिशत और इस साल कोशिश हुई है 1.6 प्रतिशत करने की। इसलिए कांग्रेस शासन में भी 1.7 प्रतिशत की सीमा तक नहीं पुहंचा जा सका है। इसलिए स्वास्थ्य

सेवा, शिक्षा, ग्रामीण विकास और दूसरे कार्यक्रमों पर धन का आबंटन पिछले वर्षों की तुलना में कम है। दूसरा दुखद पक्ष यह भी है कि पिछले साल फिसकल डैफीसिट में कटौती करने के ख्याल से या संसद को दिये गये आश्वासन को पूरा करने के ख्याल से अगर कटौती की गयी तो सामाजिक क्षेत्र में 1500 करोड़ की कटौती की गयी।

ग्रामीण विकास के कार्यक्रमों में 9 सौ करोड़ का व्यय नहीं हुआ यह सरकार के राजनीतिक दर्शन और विचाराधारा को दर्शाता है। हमें अफसोस होता है कि जब इस सरकार का समर्थन कांग्रेस कर रही है, इस सरकार का समर्थन वाम मोर्चा भी कर रहा है तो फिर इन्हें प्रगतिशील, गरीबोमुख, ग्रामीणोन्मुख कार्यक्रमों को विस्तारित करने से, उन पर धन आवंटित करने से किसने रोका है? सिवाय इसके कि इनकी मंशा अलाइड और सुखी-सम्पन्न लोगों की मदद करने की और सेवा करने की है। आर्थिक सुधार उदारीकरण की नीति एक विशेष परिस्थिति में नरसिंह राव की सरकार ने 1991 में प्रारम्भ की थी। उस समय हमारे विकास की दर बहुत नीचे चली गई थी, विदेशी मुद्रा कोष में धनराशि की बहुत कमी हो गई थी, हमारी साख, क्रेडेबिलिटी पर क्वेश्चन लग रहा था। अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय मुद्रा कोष का अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय परिस्थिति के कारण दबाव था, हमारा सोना गिरवी रखा जा चुका था इसलिए भूमण्डलीयकरण में जो आर्थिक ढ़ाचा था और जो परिस्थिति थी उस संबंध में आर्थिक सुधार उदारीकरण की नीति अपनाई गई, चलाई गई। लेकिन आज छह साल के बाद इसकी पूरी समीक्षा की जानी चाहिए थी कि क्या यह नीति गरीबों के पक्ष में साबित हुई है? देश के उन लोगों को जिन्हें हमने भारतीय संविधान के अन्तर्गत बराबरी का एवं समानता का अधिकार दे रखा है मूल अधिकारों में या नीति निर्देशक सिद्धान्तों के अन्तर्गत या संविधान की प्रस्तावना में तो उन तक हम पहुंच पाये हैं या नहीं पहुंच पाये है? हम उन लोगों में हैं जिन्होंने उस समय भी आर्थिक उदारीकरण के लक्ष्य के संबंध में इसी सदन में संकल्प प्रस्तुत किया था और 18 अगस्त, 1994 का हमारा भाषण दर्ज है जिसमें हमने कहा था कि यह देश गरीबों का है, उपेक्षित का है और दलितों का है। उन लोगों की उपेक्षा करके इस देश का कोई भी राजनीतिक ढांचा चलाया नहीं जा सकता है। जवाहर लाल नेहरू जी ने जो आर्थिक ढांचा प्रस्तुत किया था, जो नेहरू मॉडल के नाम से विश्व विख्यात है उसमें परिवर्तन और संशोधन करने के पूर्व सारे देश के स्तर पर खुली बहस होनी चाहिए थी, उस पर भी बहस नहीं हो पाई। जहां तक डंकल के प्रस्ताव या गैट के प्रस्ताव का सवाल है उसकी बड़ी आलोचना वाम मोर्चा की तरफ से या जनता दल की तरफ से की गई। आज हमें अफसोस है कि सरकार का समर्थन करने वाली सारी शक्तियां, उन सारी आलोचनाओं को, शिकायतों को संभवतः राजनीतिक कारण से या सुविधा की राजनीति से प्रेरित होकर भूल गई हैं। हाल में सिंगापुर के सम्मेलन में विश्व व्यापार समझौते पर हस्ताक्षर की बात हुई थी और इसी सदन में व्यवधान हुआ था तब सरकार ने आश्वासन दिया था और आज हम देखते हैं कि उदारीकरण की एक फिर फेहरिश्त जारी की गई है। जिन उद्योगों की सूची बनाई गई है उस सूची में कपड़ा उद्योग को भी विदेशी निवेश के लिए खोला गया है। श्रम की सुरक्षा की बात उठाई गई उस समय। आज इस देश में कपड़ा उद्योग में अगर विदेशी पूंजी निवेश होगा और अगर इस देश के व्यापक क्षेत्र को विदेशी निवेश के लिए खोला जायेगा, जो हमारी आधारभूत संरचना है, इनफ्रास्ट्रक्चर है, उनके लिए, उद्योगों के लिए और जिन उद्योगों में हमने आत्म निर्भरता हासिल की थी उन उद्योगों का द्वार आज खोला जा रहा है अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय पूंजी निवेश के लिए और अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय कम्पनियों के लिए। इस सरकार को बनाने में कांग्रेस का समर्थन था, वाम मोर्चे का समर्थन था, वह था भारतीय जनता पार्टी को शासन से अलग रखने के लिए। लेकिन जो आर्थिक ढांचा, जो आर्थिक नीति इस सरकार की तरफ से चलाई जा रही है उससे संभवतः उन लोगों में, जिनमें भारतीय जनता पार्टी का प्रवेश नहीं था, उसमें उनका प्रवेश हो सकता है। सुखी-सम्पन्न और एलाइट में वाम मोर्चे और कांग्रेस का प्रवेश पहले भी कम था और आज भी कम हो सकता है। लेकिन जहां कांग्रेस और वाम मोर्चे का प्रवेश गरीबों के बीच में था वहां आज गरीबों में मायूसी हो गयी है। इसलिए राजनैतिक कारणों से, मुझे लगता है कि जिस तरह से नीति-निर्धारण हो रहा है यह बड़ा ही घातक राजनैतिक रूप से होगा और अंततोगत्वा हमारा आर्थिक ढांचा ऐसा कमजोर पड़ेगा जिसे हम संभाल नहीं पायेंगे। तर्क दिया गया है, बजट प्रस्तावों पर मैंने चिदम्बरम जी के भाषण को देखा है, पढ़ा है और जो आपका आर्थिक सर्वेक्षण प्रस्तुत हुआ है

उसको भी मैंने देखा है। आठवीं योजना का यह अंतिम साल समाप्त हो रहा है। इन पांच सालों के बीच में आर्थिक विकास तेज हुआ है, इसमें कोई द्वंद नहीं है, कोई मतभेद नहीं है। निर्माण के क्षेत्र में प्रतिवर्ष दो प्रतिशत का विकास हुआ है। कृषि और उस से संबंधित कार्यों में 3.5 प्रतिशत की वृद्धि हुई है। आयात और निर्यात में भी वृद्धि हुई है और भुगतान संतुलन में भी उल्लेखनीय वृद्धि हुई है, विस्तार हुआ है और राजकीय घाटे में कमी हुई है। इसलिए कि श्री नरसिंह राव जी की सरकार के समय जो नीतियां बनी थी, वे नीतियां कारगर हुई हैं। इसलिए हमको नए सिरे से इस पर सोचने की जरूरत है। जो बजट प्रस्ताव आए हैं, उनसे क्या जिन उद्योगों में मंदी है उनसे निपटा जा सकेगा? बजट में जो घाटे हैं क्या इससे उसको पाटा जा सकेगा या कृषि क्षेत्र में जो विकास की संभावनायें हमने अनुमानित की हैं उनको पूरा किया जा सकेगा? पूंजी बाजार के उतार-चढ़ाव को क्या इससे रोका जा सकेगा और मंदी के कारण सरकारी खर्च में जो बेतहाशा वृद्धि हो रही है उसे रोका जा सकेगा? फिर हमें यह भी देखना है, जो नौवीं पंच-वर्षीय योजना का अप्रोच पेपर जारी हुआ है उसमें जिस बचत की अपेक्षा की गयी है वह क्या संभव है, क्या इससे संसाधन इक्ट्ठे किए जा सकते है? सातवीं योजना में 3.6 प्रतिशत की बचत अगर हमने हासिल की है और आठवीं योजना में 23.9 पर पहुंचें हैं तो क्या हम उस अनुमान तक पहुंच सकते हैं जो 28 प्रतिशत के पूंजी-निवेश की संभावना नौवीं योजना के आधार पत्र में व्यक्त की गई है। मुद्रा-स्फीति नियंत्रित होने की बात कही गई है लेकिन आज मुद्रा-स्फीति के बढ़ाने का क्रम जारी हो गया है। महोदय, यह जो बजट प्रस्ताव आए हैं उनसे लगता है कि संभवतः सुखी-सम्पन्न लोगों को प्रसन्न करने और आर्थिक विकास की गति को तेज करने के विचार से गरीब लोगों के हितों कि फिर से उपेक्षा की गयी है। जो प्रावधान हुए हैं उनको देखने से लगता है कि केंद्रीय योजना में 1997-98 में 91840 करोड़ रुपयों का प्रावधान हुआ है। 1996-97 में 87088 का प्रावधान था। इसमें एक सांकेतिक वृद्धि की गई है। ग्रामीण विकास के क्षेत्र में 176 करोड़ रुपए की वृद्धि की गई है। जब हम कृषि की सम्पन्नता की बात करते हैं, कृषि में बढ़ोत्तरी करने की बात कहते हैं जो उसमें सिंचाई और बाढ़ नियंत्रण का प्रथम स्थान होता है। मुझे यह देखकर बड़ी मायूसी हुई बजट प्रस्तावों में कि जहां 1248 करोड़ का प्रावधान पिछले वर्ष सिंचाई और बाढ़ नियंत्रण के लिए किया गया था, उसे घटाकर 323 करोड़ रुपया कर दिया गया है। ऊर्जा, पावर जो हमारे आर्थिक ढांचे की संरचना, इनफ्रास्ट्रक्चर की एक बुनियाद है, उसमें 36 करोड़ की कटौती कर दी गई है। उद्योग और खनन में 626 करोड़ की कमी की गई है। परिवहन में 996 करोड़ की कमी की गई है। इसलिए आधारभूत संरचना की जो चिंता वित्त मंत्री महोदय ने व्यक्त की है, वह इन बजट प्रस्तावों में परिलक्षित नहीं हो रही है। खासतौर से ऊर्जा की जो हमारी आवश्यकता होगी सन् 2002 तक, वह अतिरिक्त 46000 मैगावाट क्षमता की होगी। जो प्रावधान किया जा रहा है, उससे 32000 मैगावाट केन्द्र और राज्य सेक्टर में तथा 1400 मैगावाट प्राइवेट सेक्टर में करने की बात है। नवीं पंचवर्षीय योजना के प्रथम वर्ष में 3005 मैगावाट का संभावित लक्ष्य रखा गया है और डेफिसिट जो 15000 का आंका गया है, उसकी कोई संभावना नहीं दिखाई देती है। इसीलिए वास्तविकता से, सच्चाई से भिन्न यह बजट प्रस्ताव दिखाई देते हैं। जो बातें की गई है, उनको देखने से लगता है **(समय की घंटी)** चिकित्सा के क्षेत्र में, बीमा के लिए प्रवेश दिया गया है। किस के लिए बीमा? जो गरीब लोग हैं, गांव में जहां चिकित्सा सामाजिक कार्यक्रम के अन्तर्गत आती है, वहां निजी कम्पनियों के प्रवेश के लिए आप मार्ग खोल रहे हैं। पश्चिमी देशों में केवल अमरीका को छोड़ कर बाकी सभी देशों में स्वास्थ्य सेवा सरकार का दायित्व है। ग्रामीण मकान के लिए दो लाख रुपया कर्ज का प्रावधान है लेकिन यह उनको मिलेगा जिनकी ज़मीन होगी। कौन लोग होंगे? समाज के ऊंचे लोग है, वही लोग होंगे। ग्रामीण कर्ज की अदायगी नहीं हो पाती है तो इसकी अदायगी कहां से हो सकती है। इसलिए सामाजिक क्षेत्र में व्यय जो दिखाया गया है, वह संदिग्ध है। इसी तरह से काले धन के बारे में जो दिसम्बर तक की अवधि दी गई है, इसका प्रयोग पहले भी कई बार हो चुका है। जब प्रणब बाबू वित्त मंत्री थे, उस ज़माने में हुआ। जब वेंकटरामन जी वित्तमंत्री थे, उस ज़माने में भी हुआ। लेकिन जो उसका दीर्घकालिक प्रभाव पड़ना चाहिये, वह नहीं पड़ा। 31 दिसम्बर की सीमा रखी गई है, इससे हम अधिक अपेक्षा नहीं कर सकते हैं। अगर यह प्रावधान होता कि जो 31 दिसम्बर तक घोषणा नहीं करेगा, उनके खिलाफ सख्त से सख्त कार्यवाही की जा सकती है, दण्डित किया जा सकता है, लेकिन ऐसा नहीं किया गया है। इसलिए यह बजट प्रस्ताव गरीबों के हितों के पूर्ण रूप से विरुद्ध मालूम पड़ते हैं। इससे कोई प्राप्ति हो सकेगी, ऐसा दिखाई नहीं देता है। जिनकी 25 हजार रुपये माहवार आमदनी होगी जो छूट के प्रस्ताव आप दे रहे हैं, उनसे उनकी 13 प्रतिशत आमदनी बढ़ जाएगी। आज जो बिहार जैसे प्रदेश की हालत है, वहां पर

आर्थिक उदारीकरण का कोई लाभ नहीं पहुंचा है। आज देश में पांच ऐसे राज्य है जैसे उड़ीसा, बिहार, उत्तर प्रदेश, राजस्थान और मध्य प्रदेश जहां गरीबी की रेखा से नीचे रहने वालों की आबादी सब से अधिक है। इन बजट प्रस्तावों में ऐसे राज्यों के लिए कोई प्रावधान नहीं दिखाई देता है। जो क्षेत्रीय विषमताएं फैली है, वह बढ़ती जाएंगी जिससे राजनीति अस्थिरता बढ़ती है। बिहार जैसे राज्य में उग्रवादी गतिविधियां बढ़ रही है, अपराध बढ़ रहे हैं, रेल डकैतियां बढ़ रही है, सरकार के काबू से बाहर हो रही हैं। अभी हाल में पांच तारीख को पटना में जो उग्रवादियों का, नक्सलवादियों का विशाल प्रदर्शन हुआ है, वह दस्तक दे कर गया है कि इन गरीबों की हमारी प्रणाली के प्रति क्या सोच है। राज्य सरकारें नहीं कर पाती हैं, केन्द्र सरकार की तरफ से नहीं मिल पाता है, उनके संबंध में 1991-92 से 1995-96 के बीच में देखेंगे जहां देश के स्तर पर प्रति व्यक्ति आय बढ़ी है वहां बिहार में ह्रास हुआ है, गिरावट आई है। जहां रोज़गार की संभावना देश के स्तर पर बढ़ी है, बिहार के स्तर पर संभवानाएं घटी हैं। 0.2 प्रतिशत से घट कर 0.3 प्रतिशत हो गया है। फिर हम देखते हैं कि जिस तरह से 74 फीसदी विदेशी कम्पनियों को निवेश की स्वीकृति हमारे प्रधान मंत्री ने हाल ही में दी है उनमें से 16 नये उद्योगों को 11 फीसदी विदेशी भागीदारी वाली परियोजनाओं के लिए लाइसेंस की अनिवार्यता समाप्त कर दी गई है। आखिर हम देश किसको सौंपने जा रहे हैं? इन विदेशियों को, इन विदेशी पूंजी निवेशकों को, इन बहुराष्ट्रीय कंपनियों को और अंततोगत्वा देश का क्या होने वाला है? इसलिए महात्मा गांधी ने जो आंदोलन चलाया था, जो कांग्रेस ने आंदोलन चलाया था, जवाहर लाल नेहरू के नेतृत्व में, इंदिरा गांधी के नेतृत्व में उन रास्तों से आज देश अलग हो रहा है। चूंकि यह देश गरीबों का है, उनकी भागीदारी और साझेदारी अगर परिलक्षित नहीं होगी हमारे बजट प्रस्तावों में तो हम नहीं कर सकेंगे। इसलिए बिहार की परिस्थिति की जब हम चर्चा करते है तो देखते है कि बिहार की योजनाएं प्रत्येक साल घटती चली जा रही हैं। जहां बिहार की आर्थिक योजना 13 हजार करोड़ की थी वहां 3900 करोड़ ही खर्च कर पाए हैं। पहली योजना से लेकर सातवीं योजना तक राष्ट्रीय औसत से पूंजी निवेश सबसे कम हुआ है। प्रति व्यक्ति पूंजी निवेश सबसे कम हुआ है। केन्द्रीय सहायता सबसे कम मिली है। आर्थिक योजनाओं में हमारी स्थिति और भी बिगड़ती चली गयी है। इसलिए बिहार जैसे गरीब राज्य के बारे में अभी लकड़वाला की रिपोर्ट को मंत्रिपरिषद ने स्वीकार किया है। 36 परसेंट आबादी हमारी गरीबी रेखा से नीचे मानी जा रही है। बिहार की 55 प्रतिशत आबादी गरीबी रेखा से नीचे है। हमारी आबादी 9 करोड़ हैं। हमारी आधी आबादी गरीबी रेखा से नीचे हैं। आखिर अगर केन्द्रीय सरकार की सोच नहीं होगी इन अर्थ-विकसित राज्यों के प्रति तो फिर हमारा भविष्य क्या होगा। हमारे यहां ऊर्जा का उत्पादन नहीं है, हमारे यहां विदेशी पूंजी का निवेश नहीं है। हमारे यहां बहुराष्ट्रीय कंपनियां नहीं जाती हैं, हमारे यहां सरकार की तरफ से विशेष सहायता नहीं पहुंचती है। अगर 476 मैगावाट बिजली को जोड़ना है आठवीं योजना में तो आज इसकी संभावना नहीं है कि 224 भी हम जोड़ पाएंगे। जो वहां पर नदी-नगर विद्युत केंद्र खोलने की बात की गयी है वह भी हमारा पिछड़ गया है। उसके बारे में भी केन्द्र सरकार का कोई फैसला हमारे सामने नहीं आता है।

राजीव गांधी ने 5700 करोड़ का एक पैकेज दिया था 1989 में। वह सातवीं योजना का अंश नहीं बन सका, वह आठवीं योजना का अंश नहीं बन सका। हम सरकार से निवेदन करना चाहेंगे कि राजीव गांधी ने जो बिहार के पिछड़ेपन को दूर करने और राष्ट्रीय औसत पर बिहार राज्य को लाने के लिए जो 5700 करोड़ की योजना दी थी उसे मंजूर किया जाए। जो एक लेटरल रोड बिहार की बाकी है, फारबिसगंज से दरभंगा को जोड़ने की, उसके संबंध में बहुत दिनों से चर्चा और मांग होती रही है। उसे जोड़ना चाहिए। पूरे बिहार के एक भाग से दूसरे भाग को जोड़ने की बुहत आवश्यकता है।

इसलिए जो एक क्षेत्रीय विषमता पनप रही है, उन क्षेत्रीय विषमताओं को पाटने के ख्याल से, दूर करने के ख्याल से इन योजना का ...**(समय की घंटी)** पूर्ण रूप से उपयोग किया जाना चाहिए।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY) *Kindly conclude.* there are nine more speakers from your party.

डा० जगन्नाथ मिश्रः इसलिए हम मांग करना चाहते है कि जो हमारी बिहार की योजनाएं लम्बित है उन तमाम योजनाओं को मंजूर किया जाए। हल्दिया से वरौनी तक पाइप लाइन बनाने की स्वीकृति हुई थी राजीव गांधी के जमाने में, वह हमारी योजना रूक गयी। जो सेंटर से एक फ्लामेंट यार्न प्रोजेक्ट बनाने की हमारी योजना थी वह भी रूक गयी। जो हमारे एक कागज करखाने को पुनर्जीवित करने का आसाम के साथ था वही भी आज हमारा नहीं हो पाया है। जो बाढ़ नियंत्रण के लिए

टेक्निकल मिशन बनाने का फैसला था राजीव गांधी के शासन का वह आज तक हमारी पूरा नहीं हुआ है। रोहतास इंडस्ट्रीज जो बिहार का एक बहुत पुराना उद्योग था वह रुग्ण पड़ा हुआ है। सुप्रीम कोर्ट ने हस्ताक्षेप किया, हाईकोर्ट ने हस्ताक्षेप किया। उसके बाद भी हमारा रोहतास का उद्योग पूरा नहीं हो पाया है। इसलिए बिहार उद्योगों के मामले में देश के पैमाने पर बहुत पिछड़ा हुआ है, बहुत उपेक्षित हो गया है। इसलिए हम मांग करना चाहते हैं कि इसे दूर किया जाए। जो रूरल डेवलपमेंट की स्कीमें हैं उनके बारे में हमारी शिकायत है। तत्कालीन कांग्रेस शासन ने जो व्यवस्थाएं की थीं रूरल डेवलपमेंट प्रोग्राम को प्रभावशाली ढंग से चलाने के लिए उन्हें पूरा किया जाना चाहिए। आज मानीटरिंग नहीं है। जो इवैल्यूएशन रिपोर्ट्स हैं उन पर कार्यवाही नहीं हो रही है। जो डी०आर०डी०ए० का पुनसंगठन होना चाहिए वह नहीं हो रहा है। जो मानीटरिंग इवैल्यूएशन सेंटर्स बनने चाहिए थे सांसदों और विधायकों के वे आज नहीं बन पाए हैं। नीति निर्धारण में जनप्रतिनिधियों की हिस्सेधारी बनानी चाहिए। इस संबंध में तत्कालीन सरकार ने फैसला लिया था। आज वह नहीं हो रहा है। इसलिए गरीबी उन्मूलन के जो हमारे कार्यक्रम हैं उनका सही कार्यान्वयन आज नहीं हो रहा है। हमारे धन जा रहा है लेकिन उपेक्षित लोगों को प्राप्त नहीं हो रहा है। उसे करना चाहिए। तत्कालीन कांग्रेस शासन ने कृषि नीति की अंतिम रूप दिया था। इस सदन में, लोक सभा में काफी बहस हो चुकी थी। मंत्रिपरिषद के समक्ष संलेख प्रस्थापित कर दिए गए थे। पिछले फरवरी महीने में इलेक्शन घोषणा के कारण वह स्वीकृत नहीं हुई थी। आज 8-9 महीने बीतने के बाद भी इस देश की कृषि नीति नहीं बन पायी है। कांग्रेस सरकार से सहकारिता की नीति निर्धारित कर दी थी। उसका भी कैबिनेट नोट बन कर चला गया था। जो रूका हुआ है। घोषणा नहीं हुई है। फिशरीज़ के लिए भी एक नई पालिसी की आवश्यकता महसूस की गई थी कि देश के करोड़ों लोग जो मछुआरे हैं उनकी बड़ी दुर्दशा है। खास तौर से हमारे दूर-दराज़ के समुद्र में जो मछली के संबंध में बड़ी कंपनियों को इजाज़त दी गई है उसके संबंध में एक स्पष्ट नीति बननी चाहिए थी।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY): Please conclude.

डा० गजन्नाथ मिश्र: इसलिए जो नीति हमारी निर्धारित हो चुकी थी लंबित थी उन नीतियों को सही रूप में कार्यान्वित करना चाहिए।

अंत में हम कहना चाहते हैं कि इस देश के जो धार्मिक अल्पसंख्यक हैं उनके संबंध में 15 सूत्री कार्यक्रम इंदिरा जी ने, राजीव गांधी जी ने चलाया और नरसिंह राव जी के शासन में चला। हम मानते थे कि उसमें गतिशीलता आएगी चूंकि सभी सेकुलर पार्टियां इस सरकार की हिस्सेदार हैं और कांग्रेस उसकी मददगार है। लेकिन 15 सूत्री प्रोग्राम में न कोई नवीनता आई है, न कोई तेजी आई है। इसलिए धार्मिक अल्पसंख्यक की दुर्दशा जो शैक्षणिक क्षेत्र में है, व्यवसायिक क्षेत्र में है, औद्योगिक क्षेत्र में है, रोज़गार के क्षेत्र में है, तकनीकी क्षेत्र में है, प्रशिक्षण के क्षेत्र में है, सरकारी नौकरियों में है, उसे दूर करना चाहिए। ...(व्यवधान)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY): I think you should be concluding now.

डा० जगन्नाथ मिश्र: इस देश के अल्पसंख्यकों में नाराज़गी है बाबरी-मस्जिद के ध्वस्त होने पर और उसका कोई कानूनी रास्ता नहीं है। इसलिए सभी सैकुलर पार्टियों को यह संभवतः पहला मौका हो सकता है अंतिम मौका हो जब सभी सेकुलर पार्टियां शासन में हैं और सेकुलर पार्टी कांग्रेस इनका समर्थन करती है, इसलिए कि हमारी नीति भारतीय जनता पार्टी को सांप्रदायिकता की वजह से अलग रखने की थी। क्या सभी सेकुलर पार्टियां इकट्ठी होकर बाबरी मस्जिद का कोई राजनीतिक समाधान नहीं निकाल सकती है? हाई कोर्ट में यह मामला वर्षों से चलता रहा है। देश के अल्पसंख्यकों का भरोसा और विश्वास तक तब हम अपनी राजनीति प्रणाली के प्रति नहीं ले सकते हैं जब तक कि बाबरी मस्जिद का हो कोई हल नहीं निकालेंगे। हल वही है कि बाबरी मस्जिद जहां थी उसी स्थल पर उसका निर्माण होना चाहिए। लेकिन हम यह चाहते हैं कि ये 13 सैकुलर पार्टियां जो शासन में हैं और कांग्रेस जो उनकी समर्थक है, वे सम्मिलित रूप से एक प्रस्ताव संसद् में पास करें कि भारतीय जनता पार्टी का क्या दृष्टिकोण है और वह कम्युनिलिज्म की पार्टी स्थापित हो चुकी है। उन्हें अलग रखते हुए देश के लोगों को हम आश्वास्त करें कि जोर-जबर्दस्ती से कानून के विरुद्ध अगर कोई आचरण या कार्यवाही करता है तो राष्ट्र उसे मंजूर नहीं करता है। एक जांच है, एक परख है कि देश की तमाम सैकुलर पार्टियों का इसे केवल जबानी कहने से नहीं होगा, सेकुलरिज्म की केवल चर्चा करने से ही देश के मुसलमानों की आस्था, दूसरे धार्मिक लोगों की आस्था हम इस प्रणाली में नहीं ला सकते हैं। इस देश की राजनीतिक बनावट के लिए इस देश के अल्पसंख्यकों

का विश्वास एक चुनौती है। इसलिए कांग्रेस जो बुनियादी बात के लिए अब तक खड़ी रही है। ...(व्यवधान)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY): Kindly conclude.

डा० जगन्नाथ मिश्र: उस बुनियादी बात को लागू करने के लिए हमें तेजी से आगे बढ़ना चाहिए और बाबरी मस्जिद का एक राजनीतिक समाधान हमको मिल कर संसद् के माध्यम से निकालना चाहिए यह सुप्रीम कोर्ट ने जिस तरह से 141 के तहत इस मामले को राजनीतिक मामला कह कर अलग कर दिया था आज अगर संयुक्त मोर्चा ने अपने संयुक्त प्रोग्राम में 138 के तहत भेजने का निर्णय लिया है उसका कोई हल नहीं निकलने वाला है। वह तब निकलेगा जब राज्य सभा, लोक सभा विशाल बहुमत से एक प्रस्ताव पारित कर बाबरी मस्जिद का पुनर्निर्माण उसी स्थान पर कर दें जहां पर जोर-जबर्दस्ती उसे विध्वंस किया गया था, उसे शहीद किया गया थो।

धन्यवाद।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY): Thank you, but you took a lot of time.

श्री सोमपाल (उत्तर प्रदेश): उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, आप मुझे बजट पर बोलने का अवसर दे रहे हैं इसलिए आपका धन्यवाद। मैं आपके माध्यम से सदन को स्मरण कराना चाहता हूं कि जैसे ही हमारी यह साझा सरकार सत्ता में आई तो हमने एक न्यूनतम साझा कार्यक्रम की घोषणा की थी और 1996-97 का बजट उसी के आधार पर प्रस्तुत किया था। उसी नीति को चालू रखते हुए इस वर्ष का अर्थात् आगामी वर्ष 1997-98 का बजट बनाया गया है और इसमें निश्चित रूप से उन संकल्पों और प्रतिबद्धताओं को ठोस आधार देने की दृष्टि से बहुत महत्वपूर्ण कदम वित्त मंत्री जी ने उठाए हैं और कुछ नीतियों की घोषणा की है। मूलतः 7 उद्देश्य इस बजट में परिलक्षित होते हैं। प्रथम, आर्थिक विकास को अधिक गतिशीलता देना। द्वितीय, जनसाधारण को कतिपय न्यूनतम आधारभूत सेवाएं उपलब्ध कराना। तृतीय रोज़गार के अधिक अवसरों का निर्माण करना। चतुर्थ अर्थ-व्यवस्था को स्थायित्व प्रदान करना। पंचम, पूंजी निवेश और विशेषतः आधारभूत ढांचे में निवेश को प्रोत्साहित करना। षष्ठ, मानव विकास को नए आयाम देनाः शिक्षा और ग्रामीण विकास के ऊपर अधिक व्यय द्वारा और संरचनात्मक कार्यक्रमों के द्वारा और सप्तम् यानी अंतिम, भुगतान शेष के संतुलन को और अधिक संतुलित करना और सक्षम बनाना।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, गत वर्ष हम ने देखा कि अर्थ-व्यवस्था में कुछ सकारात्मक प्रवृत्तियों का प्रदर्शन हुआ। उन की गणना भी इस बजट के संदर्भ में करना आवश्यक है ताकि पूरा परिवेश और पूरी पृष्ठभूमि समझ में आ सके और यह बात निश्चित की जा सके कि इस बजट में उन प्रवृत्तियों को सक्षम करने के लिए या जो खामियां रही हैं, उन को दूर करने के लिए क्या कोई उचित कदम उठाए गए हैं अथवा नहीं? पहली बात जो देखने में आई, वह यह है कि गत वर्ष आर्थिक विकास की गति 6-8 प्रतिशत रही जोकि निश्चित रूप से पिछले वर्ष की अपेक्षा अधिक थी। दूसरे, कृषि और सम्बद्ध क्षेत्रों में संतोषजनक विकास और प्रगति हुई। तीसरे खाद्यान्न का उत्पादन जो पिछले वर्ष में घट गया था पुनः 191 मिलियन टन पर पहुंच गया और यह एक अत्यंत संतोष की बात है। चौथी बात जो देखने में आई, वह यह कि औद्योगिक विकास की दर 11 प्रतिशत रही जोकि बहुत उल्लेखनीय है। पांचवीं, विदेशी मुद्रा के भंडार में पर्याप्त वृद्धि हुई जोकि सदा से चिंता का विषय रहा है और आज हमारे पास इतना भंडार है कि उससे हम अपने निर्यातोन्मुख उद्योगों को वित्तीय सहायता देने में और दूसरी आवश्यकता पूरी करने में सुचारू रूप से काम चला सकते हैं।

महोदय, कुछ खामियां और कमियां भी निश्चित रूप से गत वर्ष देखने में आई और यदि मैं उन का उल्लेख नहीं करूंगा तो बजट की निष्पक्ष समीक्षा के प्रति न्याय नहीं कर पाऊंगा। इन में तीन-चार बातें आवश्यक और उल्लेखनीय हैं। पहली बात यह कि कच्चे तेल के घरेलु उत्पादन में जो कमी आई है, वह चिंता की बात है। दूसरे, ऊर्जा उत्पादन में भी शिथिलता देखने में आई है। तीसरी बात जोकि उतनी ही चिंताजनक है, वह यह है कि निर्यात की वृद्धि दर में गिरावट आई। चौथी बात, मुद्रास्फीति की दर बढ़ी है। वह साढ़े 4 प्रतिशत थी, देखते-देखते 8 प्रतिशत के निकट पहुंचने जा रही है और पांचवीं बात पूंजी बाजार में नैराश्य दिखाई दिया और काफी उथल-पुथल हुई जिससे कंपनियों के स्वास्थ और उन की आशाजनकता को कुछ क्षति पहुंची है। इसीलिए शेयर बाजार नीचा रहा और लोगों की कंपनियों में इनवेस्ट करने की जो इच्छा थी, उस में भी कुछ कमी दिखायी दी।

अब देखना यह है कि गत वर्ष की इन स्वस्थ प्रवृत्तियों की निरंतरता और गतिशीलता को बनाए रखने तथा जो खामियां देखने में आईं, उन्हें दूर करने के लिए इस वर्ष के बजट में कोई संकल्प अथवा संकेत हैं कि नहीं। महोदय, निश्चित रूप से बहुत स्पष्ट संकेत माननीय वित्त मंत्री जी ने दिए हैं और उन्होंने एक त्रिपथीय रणनीति अपनायी है। जिस के मुख्य अंग ये हैं : एक ओर तो अर्थ-व्यवस्था के विकास और आधुनिकीकरण को गति देने के लिए पूंजी-निवेश को प्रोत्साहित करने के बात की गयी, यह बहुत महत्वपूर्ण काम है इसका ब्यौरा मैं आगे दूंगा। दूसरी ओर गरीबी उन्मूलन के लिए एक समेकित कार्यक्रम बनाया गया है। तीसरे, इस बजट की जो मुख्य अपेक्षा है, वह यह है कि आर्थिक सुधारों को नया आयाम देने का प्रयास वित्तीय घाटे को कम कर के, कराधान का सरलीकरण कर और मुद्रास्फीति पर नियंत्रण पाने के संकल्प की घोषणा कर के किया गया है।

प्रथम उद्देश्य की प्राप्ति यानी आर्थिक विकास की दर को बढ़ाने के लिए पूंजी-निवेश बढ़ाना आवश्यक था क्योंकि यह सब जानते हैं कि जब तक पूंजी निवेश की दर नहीं बढ़ायी जाएगी, आर्थिक प्रगति नहीं हो सकती। इसके लिए वित्त मंत्री जी ने प्रत्यक्ष और अप्रत्यक्ष करों में भारी कमी की घोषणा की है और इस घोषणा, इस कमी का स्वागत आम नागरिकों, निजी आयकरदाताओं, उद्योगपतियों, व्यवसायीयों और सभी पक्षों की ओर से किया गया है। श्रीमन्, यह सर्वविदित तथ्य है कि परिवारों तथा समवायों यानि कंपनियों, जिसे कारपोरेट सैक्टर कहा जाता है, उनके द्वारा जो बचत की जाती है, उसी को निवेशित किया जाता है पूंजी के रूप में जिसको फलों बेक या कैपिटल इन्वेस्टमेंट कहते हैं और यही दो मुख्य श्रोत हैं पूंजी विनिर्माण के, किसी भी अर्थ-व्यवस्था और समाज में। इन्हें प्रोत्साहित करना आवश्यक था और वह निश्चित रूप से इस बजट में वित्तीयमंत्री जी ने किया है।

श्रीमन्, सर्वप्रथम मैं प्रत्यष करों की बात करना चाहता हूं। आयकर की दर को घटा कर 10 प्रतिशत, 20 प्रतिशत और 30 प्रतिशत किया गया है। सबसे कम आय वाले जो व्यक्ति हैं, जिनकी आय 40,000/- से 60,000/- तक है, उनके ऊपर 10 प्रतिशत की दर से आयकर लगेगा। दूसरा स्लैब है 60,000,- से 1,50,000/- तक का, उस पर 20 प्रतिशत आयकर लगेगा। यहां पर यह भी उल्लेखनीय है कि पहले दूसरा जो स्लैब था वह 1,20,000/- पर आकर समाप्त होता था, जिसको बढ़ाकर 1,50,000/- किया गया है।, इससे मध्यम आय वर्ग के लोगों को काफी राहत पहुंचेगी। जो सबसे ऊपर का स्लैब है, वह 1,50,000/- से ऊपर की आया वाला है, जिस पर 30 प्रतिशत आयकर लगेगा। यही अधिकतम सीमा बना दी गई है 30 प्रतिशत की। जब माननीय वित्तमंत्री जी ने बजट पेश किया और हमारे सदन में बजट की प्रति देने आए तो मैं उनके पास गया। हमने कहा कि हमें और सब जनता को यह आशा तो थी कि आप इस अधिकतम दर को 30 प्रतिशत करेंगे और वह दो चरणों में करेंगे, परन्तु आपने एक ही कदम में, एक ही बार में इस वर्ष इसको कर दिया। यह आशातीत बात आपने की है। इसके लिए आप साधुवाद और बधाई के पात्र हैं। निश्चित रूप से यह बात सभी ओर से स्वागत योग्य है। इसके साथ ही मैं यह भी बताना चाहूंगा कि जो पहले मानक छूट दी जाती थी उसको बढ़ाकर अब 20,000/- कर दिया गया है, जिसका परिणाम यह होगा कि जिस व्यक्ति की व्यक्तिगत आय 75,000/-तक होगी, उसको कोई कर नहीं देना पड़ेगा। यह एक बहुत ही महत्वपूर्ण बात उन्होंने की है। कंपनी यानि कारपोरेट सेक्टर की बात लें तो उनके लिए भी 40 प्रतिशत से घटाकर 35 प्रतिशत किया गया है। अबकि विदेशी कम्पनियों को 48 प्रतिशत की दर से कर देना पड़ेगा। यह बात इसलिए की गई कि हमारे जो साध्यावादी साथी है और जो बी०जे०पी० के लोग हैं, वे देशी और विदेशी कंपनियों में कुछ भेदभाव करने के सदा से हामी रहे हैं। तो उनके इस भाव को हमने स्वीकार और अंगीकार करके यह बात की है कि उनकी टैक्स कुछ अधिक दर से देना चाहिए। मैं उनसे आशा करता हूं कि वे इस बात का स्वागत करेंगे और इसके लिए हमारा समर्थन करेंगे।

मान्यवर, यह बात भी सर्वविदित है कि जब तक जो लोग सक्षम है, जिनके पास आय है और जिनकी कर देने की क्षमता है, वे लोग राष्ट्र निर्माण के यज्ञ में अपना सहयोग न करें, तब तक राष्ट्र को ठीक प्रगति पर नहीं चलाया जा सकता। बहुत से लोग ऐसे थे, जिनकी क्षमता टैक्स देने की है, पर वे वर्तमान नियमों के रहते हुए टैक्स नहीं देते थे। इसके लिए वित्तमंत्री जी ने एक बहुत ही कल्पनाशील प्रावधान किया है, वह यह किया है कि महानगरों में रहने वाले जिन लोगों के पास इन चार में से दो सुविधाएं हों—अपना निजी मकान हो, टेलीफोन हो, कार हो, पहले वर्ष में उन्होंने विदेश यात्रा की हो, तो यह मान लिया जाना चाहिए कि वह कर देने की स्थिति में है। जिनके पास इनमें से दो भी चीजें होंगी, उनको यह बाध्यता और अनिवार्यता रहेगी कि वह इन्कम

टैक्स रिटर्न दें और अपना पंजीकरण आयकर में कराए और कर-वंचना या कर न देने का जो आरोप उनके ऊपर था उससे वे मुक्ति पा सकें। साथ ही करदाता बनाने का, करदाताओं की सूची में रहने का, राष्ट्र निर्माण में योगदान करने का सौभाग्य और सम्मान प्राप्त कर सकें।

मान्यवर, इसके साथ ही वित्तमंत्री जी ने एक स्वैच्छिक आय घोषणा योजना भी प्रस्तावित की है। इसके दो भाग हैं—एक तो यह कि देश-विदेश में जमा कालेधन पर 30 प्रतिशत की अधिकतम आयकर अदा करके अपना पूंजी का श्वेतीकरण कर सकते हैं, जिसको अंग्रेजी में "लोंडरिंग आफ मनी" कहा जाता है यह तथ्य है कि एक अनुमान के अनुसार 100 बिलियन से 400 बिलियन डालर के करीब भारतीयों का विदेशों में जमा है। हम यह बात तो सहन करने के लिए तैयार हैं कि वह सारा पैसा दूसरे देशों के निर्माण में, उनकी आर्थिक प्रगति में काम आ सके, परन्तु अपने देश में लौट आए इसको हम स्वीकार नहीं करना चाहते। मैं यह एक बहुत साहसिक कदम मानता हूं वित्तमंत्री जी का, जो उन्होंने यह स्वैच्छिक आय घोषणा योजना तैयार की।
और उन्हें यह अनुमति दी कि उनका जितना भी धन चाहे वह विदेश में जमा हो या देश में जमा हो, उसको वापस लाएं और उसके ऊपर 30 प्रतिशत की अधिकतम आयकर दर से टैक्स अदा करें और उसका विकास के लिए निवेश कर सकें। इसी प्रकार का एक कदम वित्त मंत्री जी ने यह उठाया है कि विभिन्न प्रकार की सेवाएं जिनमें यातायात और यात्री अभिकर्ताओं यानी ट्रैवल एजेंसी का काम करने वाले लोगों को तथा जो लोग उत्सवों में भोजन आदि का प्रबंध करते हैं यानी कैटरिंग सर्विस, ऐसी सेवाओं की 10 मदों को टैक्स के जाल में वे ले आए हैं और उनके ऊपर 5 प्रतिशत का सेवा कर यानी सर्विस टैक्स लगाया गया है। इससे राजस्व की आय बढ़ेगी और इन लोगों को करदाता होने का सौभाग्य प्राप्त होगा।

इसी प्रकार अप्रत्यक्ष करों की दर में और उनकी संख्या में कमी की गई है। यदि हम तट करों की बात लें तो कस्टम ड्यूटी में 2,625 करोड़ रुपये की छूट दी गई है और उसकी उच्चतम प्रभावी दर जो पहले 50 प्रतिशत थी, उसको घटाकर 40 प्रतिशत कर दिया गया है। इसके साथ ही पूंजीगत सामान, लोहा, इस्पात, इलेक्ट्रानिक सामान आदि की जो मदवार दरें थी, उन्हें समाप्त करके इनका सरलीकरण किया गया है और उसका व्यावसायिक वर्ग ने स्वागत किया है। यह वांछित भी है और उचित भी है।

महोदय, एक महत्वपूर्ण बात जो की गई है और जिससे भारत के निर्यात संवर्धन में सहायता मिलेगी वह यह है कि कंप्यूटर सॉफ्टवेयर पर तट कर पूरी तरह समाप्त कर दिया गया है। एक अनुमान के अनुसार यदि सन 2000 तक सॉफ्टवेयर के निर्माण में जिस प्रकार भारत के लोगों ने और तकनीकी लोगों ने प्रगति की है, वह इसी प्रकार बनी रही तो हमारा सॉफ्टवेयर का निर्यात लगभग एक लाख करोड़ रुपये तक जा सकता है। यहां एक बात का मैं उल्लेख करना चाहता हूं कि एक छोटी सी मद जिसके कारण कंप्यूटरों के व्यवसाय में वृद्धि होने वाली है वह यह है कि पहले वर्ष को इंगित करने के लिए ईयर को इंडिकेट करने के लिए 2 अंकों का सहारा लिया जाता है था। अब चूंकि यह शताब्दी पूरी होने वाली है, इसलिए 2 अंकों वाली प्रणाली समाप्त होने जा रही है और एक अनुमान के अनुसार कई ट्रिलियन डालर के व्यवसाय का निर्माण होने जा रहा है जिसका भरपूर लाभ भारत ले सकता है और सॉफ्टवेयर पर जो इन्होंने कर समाप्त किया है, उनको विशेष लाभ होगा और हमारा निर्यात अधिक गति से बढ़ सकेगा इस क्षेत्र में। इन सब छूटों का जो निर्यातोन्मुखी उद्योग हैं, उनको बहुत लाभ मिलने वाला है। मदवार दरों की संख्या घटाने से सरकारी नौकरशाही की स्वेच्छाचारिता के ऊपर अंकुश लगेगा और जो व्यापारियों की अवांछनीय दुरुपयोग करने की प्रवृत्ति थी, उस पर भी अंकुश लगेगा। इसी प्रकार वित्त मंत्री जी ने टिकाऊ उपभोक्ता सामग्री यानी कंज्यूमर ड्यूरेबल्स पर उत्पाद करो में 2 से लेकर 7 प्रतिशत तक छूट देने का स्तुत्य कार्य किया है। इससे निश्चित रूप से उद्योगों की प्रतिस्पर्धात्मक क्षमता को प्रोत्साहन मिलेगा और उत्पादन बढ़ाने का मार्ग भी अवश्य प्रशस्त होगा। इसका लाभ उपभोक्ताओं को निश्चित रूप से मिलेगा। समाचारपत्रों में कंज्यूमर ड्यूरेबल्स की कीमतें कम किए जाने के विज्ञापन आ रहे हैं वे निश्चित रूप से बात की ओर संकेत करते हैं।

महोदय, उत्पादन बढ़ने तथा अधिक वस्तुएं खरीदी जाने से हिंदुस्तानी की आय बढ़ेगी, इस तथ्य के बावजूद कि इसकी दरें कम की गई हैं। आम नागरिकों और कंपनियों द्वारा घटी हुई दरों पर स्वेच्छा से टैक्स दिए जाने की वृत्ति बढ़ने की आशा है और कंपनियों के व्यवसाय में जो वृद्धि होगी, जो आय बढ़ेगी, उससे भी राजस्व अदायगी की तत्परता और मात्रा दोनों में वृद्धि होने की आशा है। महोदय, आपको याद होगा और सभी माननीय सदस्य जानते हैं कि एक समय ऐसा था हमारे देश में जब प्रत्यक्ष कर की दर की अधिकतर सीमा 97

प्रतिशत थी और यदि उसके साथ संपत्ति कर और अधिभारों को भी जोड़ दिया जाए तो एक बार तो वह 107 प्रतिशत थी यानी एक सीमांत रुपया यदि कोई व्यक्ति कमाए एक आय के बाद तो उसको उसके ऊपर 107 पैसे टैक्स अदा करना पड़ता था। यह इतनी अव्यवहारिक बात थी, इतनी इमप्रेक्टिकल बात थी कि कौन ऐसा उदारनुमा व्यक्ति है जो एक रुपया कमाकर सरकार को एक रुपया सात पैसा दे और कौन ऐसा मूर्ख है कि एक स्थिति में जाकर अगला रुपया कमाना बंद कर दे। इतनी गलत अवधारणा के तहत यह बात की गई थी और उसका नतीजा यह हुआ कि नागरिकों को, व्यवसायियों को, व्यापारियों को, उद्योगपतियों को कर वंचना पर बाध्य होना पड़ा और काले धन की एक समानांतर अर्थव्यवस्था का निर्माण हुआ। एक ओर तो इस काले धन की समानान्तर व्यवस्था का यह नतीजा हुआ कि सरकारी जितने भी नियम अधिनियम थे जिनमें कर नियम भी सम्मिलित है उनका सारा नियंत्रण इस अर्थव्यवस्था से अलग रहा,। यह उससे अछूते रहे और दूसरा यह कि जो राजकीय कर्मचारी थे उनकी स्वेच्छाचारिता बढ़ी और उन्होंने इन चीजों को छिपाने के लिए इन अनिष्ट व्यापारियों और बेईमान व्यापारियों के साथ दुरभि संधि की और भ्रष्टाचार का भयंकर वातावरण बना। दूसरे वित्त और विधान का उल्लंघन करने की एक वृत्ति नागरिकों और व्यवसायियों में जन्मी जो बहुत ही घातक बात रही, क्योंकि सरकार के किसी भी नियम-अधिनियम का उल्लघंन करना एक बार हो, दो बार हो तो समझ में आता है पर, यहां तो ऐसी व्यवस्था बन गई थी कि जो ईमानदार और निष्ठावान नागरिक थे वह दंडित होते थे और जो बेईमान और अनुशासनहीन थे वह पुरूस्कृत होने लगे थे और जो नियम होता है यदि किसी समय कोई भ्रष्टाचार किया जाए वह अपवाद के रूप में यहां उल्टी बात हो गई थी, ईमानदारी अपवाद हो चला था और भ्रष्टाचार साधारण नियम। इस व्यवस्था को समाप्त करने के लिए यह जो सरलीकरण और करों में कमी की गई है यह एक बहुत ही स्वागत के योग्य कदम है। जो इतने ऊंचे टैक्स किए गए थे यह एक ऐसी अवधारणा थी जिसको समाजवादी समाज की स्थापना की संज्ञा दी गई थी। उसमें यह कहा गया था कि आय और सम्पत्ति का पुनर्वितरण करेंगे। जो था नहीं उसका कहां से वितरण करते। किसी के पास साधान है नहीं, आय है नहीं और आप उसका वितरण करने जा रहे हैं वह भी पुनर्वितरण। इस सिद्धांत की अव्यवहारिकता सिद्ध हुई है और उसको स्वीकार करके माननीय वित्त मंत्री जी ने यह जो कदम उठाए हैं उनका सभी ओर से स्वागत किया जा रहा है और होना भी चाहिए।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, एक बात यह भी सर्वविदित है कि कर के विषय में एक शास्वत और सार्वभौमिक सिद्धांत रहा है कि राज्य का काम नागरिकों को, व्यवसायियों को और धनपतियों को सरक्षा प्रदान करने का काम था और यहां यह जो नियम बने उन्होंने भ्रष्टाचार को पनपाने का काम किया और हर समय नागरिकों के मन में एक ऐसी असुरक्षा और डर रहता था, एक तरह की चिंता रहती थी कि किस तरह सरकारी तंत्र उसके साथ क्या अन्याय कर बैठे, यह उसकी समझ में नहीं आता था। इसको ढीला करने से, इसको शिथिल करने से नागरिकों को अधिक संतोष से और आधिक विश्वास के साथ रहने का अवसर वित्त मंत्री जी ने प्रदान किया है। प्रथम पंचवर्षीय योजना के बाद हमारी अर्थव्यवस्था अपने उस मूल उद्देश्य से भटक गई लगती थी जिसमें करों की इतनी ऊंची दरें आरोपित कर दी गई और यह समाजवादी समाज स्थापित करने का नारा पूर्णतया थोथा सिद्ध हुआ। इन 50 वर्षों के बाद यह बात स्वीकार की गई। सन् 1991-92 से आर्थिक सुधारों का जो क्रम स्थापित किया गया था उसको आगे ले जाने में और इतने आगे ले जाने में एक ही कदम में जो वित्त मंत्री जी ने साहसिक काम किया है उसके लिए उनकी जितनी प्रशंसा की जाए उतनी कम है। सरकारी नियंत्रणों की भरमार और अंधाधुंध राजकीय व्यय और अनावश्यक दमनकारी नियंत्रण जो इस काले धन की व्यवस्था और इन अधिक दरों के कारण बने थे उसको समाप्त करने का जो प्रशासनिक और आर्थिक सुधार का कार्यक्रम उन्होंने त्वरित किया है उसके लिए मैं उनका अभिनंदन करना चाहता हूं। भ्रष्टाचार और इस अधिक दमनकारी नियंत्रण का एक प्रभाव श्रीमन्, यह भी होता है कि आम नागरिकों में सरकार के प्रति जो विश्वास था वह अविश्वास में परिवर्तित हो जाता है। हर समय उसके मन में अनावश्यक संदेह बना रहता है और यदि यह बात ठीक कर दी गई तो इस विश्वास की, इस परस्पर विश्वास की पुर्नस्थापना हो सकेगी, ऐसी मैं आशा करता हूं। माननीय वित्त मंत्री जी ने समाज को पुनः सरलता, सहजता और नैसर्गिक स्वाभाविकता प्रदान करने की दिशा में जो कदम उठाए हैं वह सर्वथा स्वागत के योग्य है। इस संदर्भ में उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं महर्षि चाणक्य का एक आख्यान आपकी सेवा में प्रस्तुत करना चाहता हूं। उन्होंने कर के विषय में लिखा है कि राजकीय करधान इस प्रकार का होना चाहिए कि नागरिक स्वेच्छा से और स्नेह से कर की अदायगी करे।

जिस प्रकार मधु मक्खियां पुष्पों के ऊपर जाती हैं और पुष्प उसको देखकर भाव-विभोर हो जाता है और खिल उठता है और उससे वह जीवनदायिनी मधुमक्खी उस मधु का संचय करके नागरिकों के लिए जीवनदायी रसों का संचय और संग्रह करती है, इसी प्रकार नागरिक को प्रवृत्त करने के लिए, प्रोत्साहित करने के लिए कराधान इस प्रकार का होना चाहिए कि वह भय से आतंकित होकर कर वंचन नहीं करे बल्कि अधिक प्रतिबद्धता और प्रस्तुति के साथ करों की अदायगी कर सके। प्रकृति के इस गूढ़ और सरल संकेत को वित्त मंत्री जी ने मानकर यह बात की है। इसी संदर्भ में महाभारत का एक संवाद भी मैं उल्लेख करना चाहता हूं। जब महाराज युधिस्ठिर इन्द्रप्रस्थ में आ कर राज्य करने लगे तो विदुर उनके पास हस्तिनापुर से कोई संदेश लेकर आए और जैसे ही विदुर वहां पहुंचे तो महाराज युधिस्ठिर ने उनसे कहा कि विदुर काका, राज और राजनयिकता की बात तो मैं बाद में करूंगा, पहले मुझे यह बताइए कि आप मेरे पूरे राज्य-क्षेत्र में चल कर आए हैं तो मेरे राज्य की स्थिति कैसी है? मेरे राज्य के विषय में लोगों का विचार कैसा है? यह मैं आपसे सुनना चाहता हूं ताकि मुझे सही बात का पता लग सके। तो विदुर ने जो बात कही, वह बहुत महत्वपूर्ण है। विदुर ने यह कहा कि युधिष्ठिर, तुम्हारे राज्य में सब ओर सुख है। नागरिक बड़े संतोषजनक, शांतिपूर्ण और सहिष्णुता के तरीके के साथ रह रहे हैं और जो सर्वाधिक उल्लेखनीय और महत्वपूर्ण बात मेरे देखने में आई, वह यह है कि आपके कराधान का ढांचा इतना सरल और हल्का है कि नागरिकों को कर-चोरी के लिए बाध्य नहीं होना पड़ता है। यह एक महत्वपूर्ण आख्यान है महाभारत का। वहां से इस संदेश के लेकर वित्त मंत्री जी ने यह जो कराधान में सरलीकरण किया है,

यह निश्चित रूप से उस भावना को प्रदर्शित करता है। राम-राज्य में तो इसकी कहीं कोई चर्चा नहीं है। यह तो हो सकता है कि हमारे भाजपा के लोग कुछ बता सकें। वहां शायद टैक्स बिल्कुल नहीं था। उस आदर्श स्थिति में तो हम नहीं पहुंच सकते पर जो एक मानव सुलभ और मानव के लिए उचित बात है, उस स्तर पर कराधान को लाने का हमने प्रयास अवश्य किया है और इसके लिए मैं उनसे सहयोग की कामना भी करता हूं।

इसी दृष्टि से सदन के सभी पक्षों से, जो हमारे समर्थक हैं, जो हमारी सरकार में सम्मिलित हैं, उनसे भी मैं अपेक्षा करता हूं कि अपने दलों और अपनी पुरानी नीतियों के दुराग्रह और पूर्वाग्रहों को त्याग कर, उनसे ऊपर उठ कर राष्ट्र के निर्माण के स्वयंपुष्ट और सम्पुष्ट मार्गारोहण — मैं हमारी सरकार का सहयोग करें। भारत की भावी संततियां, भारत की भावी पीढ़ियां आपका इसके लिए गुणगान करेंगी, अभिनंदन करेंगी और कृतज्ञता ज्ञापन करेंगी।

वेदों में एक मंत्र आता है:

"लोककृतः पथिकृतो देवानाम यजामहे।"

जिन पूर्वजों ने हमारे लिए इन लोकों का, संसार का — और समाज का निर्माण किया है, जिन्होंने हमें यहां रहन-सहन के, जीवन के मंत्र, मर्यादाएं और मूल्य बताए हैं, उनका यज्ञ और गुणगान करते हुए हम रहे। तो यदि आप ऐसा करेंगे तो आप उस पुष्प के भागी अवश्य बनेंगे अगली पीढ़ियों के द्वारा। इतना ही नहीं, कर से इतर सुधारों की गति भी वित्त मंत्री जी ने बनाए रखी है। **(समय की घंटी) मैं अपनी निर्धारित समय-सीमा में समाप्त कर दूंगा श्रीमन्।**

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY): There are two speakers from your party. ...*(Interruptions)*...One more Member has to speak. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI SOM PAL: I am concluding.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY) Okay.

श्री सोमपाल: कर से इतर सुधारों की गति भी वित्त मंत्री जी ने उसी प्रकार बनाए रखी है। इसके कुछ महत्वपूर्ण बिन्दु मैं संक्षेप में उल्लेख करना चाहता हूं। सर्वप्रथम स्वास्थ्य बीमा व्यवसाय को भारतीय निजी कंपनियों को टेकअप करने की अनुमति, उसमें प्रवेश की अनुमति वित्त मंत्री जी ने दी है। दूसरे, कर्मचारी भविष्य निधि और ग्रेच्युटी योजना राशियों पर अधिक आय प्राप्त करके उसके लिए उन्होंने जो कंट्रीब्यूशन की, उनके प्रदाय की दर को 10 प्रतिशत किया है, इससे जो वेतन-भोगी लोग है, जो मजदूर वर्ग और कर्मचारी वर्ग है, उसको भारी लाभ होने की संभावना है और जो बड़ी आयु में सेवा-निवृत्ति के बाद किसी और पर आश्रित रहते हैं, उनकी स्वतंत्रता और सक्षमता के लिए यह कदम महत्वपूर्ण है।

इसी प्रकार यूनिट ट्रस्ट को एक समग्र और समेकित पेंशन योजना चालू करने की इजाज़त दे दी गई है। यह भी एक महत्वपूर्ण सामाजिक सुरक्षा का कदम है। तेल की खोज के लिए देशी-विदेशी पूंजी निवेश क द्वार खोल-दिएं गए हैं ताकि इस महत्वपूर्ण ऊर्जा स्त्रोत का उत्पादन बढ़ सके क्योंकि पिछले वर्ष इसमें कमी आई थी। यह

कमी भी अब उन्होंने पूरी कर दी है।

3.00 P.M.

विदेशी मुद्रा नियमन अधिनियम, जिसका मैंने पहले उल्लेख किया कि जो स्वैच्छिक घोषणा योजना है, उसमें संशोधन की घोषणा की है। गत वर्षों में जितना भी विदेशी पूंजी निवेश हुआ है, वह सात बिलियन डालर के करीब हुआ है और एक अनुमान के अनुसार 11 बिलियन के करीब विभिन्न स्रोतों के द्वारा बाहर चला गया है। यदि इस पूंजी के भारत में आगमन का मार्ग प्रशस्त किया तो भारत के विकास को गति देने के लिए महत्वपूर्ण बात होगी, एक ऐतिहासिक बात होगी, ऐसी मुझे आशा है। एक अत्यंत दुष्कर कार्य वित्त मंत्री जी के सन्मुख था और वह हरेक वित्त मंत्री के सामने पिछले कई वर्षों से रहा है। जब से मैं इस सदन में आया हूं, सात बजट देख चुका हूं और हर बार कहा जाता है कि वित्तीय घाटा कम किया जाएगा। पिछले वर्ष सकल घरेलू उत्पाद के अनुपात के रूप में यह 5.8 प्रतिशत था और उसमें 0.8 प्रतिशत की कमी करके इसको 5 प्रतिशत पर लाया गया। इसी बात को आगे बढ़ाते हुए वर्तमान बजट में, जो इस बार आपके समक्ष है वित्त मंत्री जी ने इसमें आधा प्रतिशत यानी .5 परसेंट की कमी करने के संकल्प और प्रतिबद्धता की घोषणा की है और अब इसको साढ़े चार प्रतिशत पर लाया जाएगा। सर्वाधिक उल्लेखनीय बात यह है कि वेतन आयोग की सिफारिशों को लागू करने से होने वाली अधिव्यय के बावजूद और करों की घटाई गयी दरों के बावजूद इस घाटे में कमी लायी गयी है। दूसरी बात इसी दिशा में उन्होंने यह की है कि ट्रैजरी बिलों की जो तदर्थ प्रणाली थी, उसको समाप्त करके मुद्रा निस्सरण पर अंकुश लगाया गया है। जो अंधाधुंध बैंक नोट छाप दिये जाते थे, उससे मुद्रास्फीति बढ़ती थी, उस पर अंकुश लगा दिया गया है और उसकी वैकल्पिक योजना की घोषणा भी उन्होंने की है। एक और उल्लेखनीय बात यह है कि केन्द्रीय योजना व्यय में पहली बार साढ़े 18 प्रतिशत की वृद्धि एक वर्ष में की गयी है जो स्वतंत्रता प्राप्ति के बाद किसी भी एक वर्ष में की गयी वृद्धि से अधिक है और 7,958 करोड़ रुपये की यह राशि बनती है। इससे सामाजिक क्षेत्र और आधारभूत ढांचे में होने वाले व्यय में एक वर्ष में 33 प्रतिशत की रिकार्ड वृद्धि की गयी। ऊर्जा यानी बिजली और तेल के क्षेत्र में 23.63 प्रतिशत अधिक व्यय किया जाएगा। सड़कों और पुलों के लिए भी 72 प्रतिशत अधिक संसाधन आवंटित किये गये है। बंदरगाहों और प्रकाश स्तंभों के विकास और आधुनिकीकरण के लिए 78 प्रतिशत अधिक संसाधन खर्च करने का संकल्प किया गया है। अधिकतर सिंचाई योजनाएं केन्द्र सरकार ने राज्य सरकारों को हस्तांतरित कर दी है। यह बहुत ही स्वागत योग्य कदम है और उसके बावजूद सिंचाई योजना के लिए काफी राशि का प्रावधान किया गया है। इससे एक आसानी यह होगी कि राज्य सरकारें जैसा कि माननीय डा० जगन्नाथ मिश्र जी कह रहे थे कि बाढ़ नियंत्रण के लिए बिहार को सहायता नहीं मिलती, यह बहाना राज्य सरकारों को मिलता था कि केन्द्र सरकार पर्याप्त सहायता नहीं देती और केन्द्र सरकार प्रायः यह कह दिया करती थी कि राज्य सरकारें ठीक से उस संसाधन का उपयोग नहीं करतीं और आपके राज्य के ऊपर तो ऐसा आरोप प्रायः आता है और आज तक भी वह चालू है, यह बड़े दुर्भाग्य की बात है। आप भी वहां मुख्य मंत्री रहे हैं और इस दिशा में आपने कोई शोधन का, ठीक करने का, करैक्शन का कदम नहीं उठाया और यह आरोप बिहार सरकार के ऊपर सदा से लगता रहा है, आज भी ऐसे ही लग रहा है। तो इससे यह बहाना न राज्य सरकारों के पास रहेगा और न केन्द्र सरकार के पास रहेगा। उनको यह योजनाएं दे दी गयी हैं और अगर वह इसको लागू नहीं करेंगे तो उनकी जनता उनसे सवाल पूछेगी। अब उनको जान केन्द्र सरकार का बहाना करके छूटने वाली नहीं है। नौवीं पंचवर्षीय योजना में कृषि की दर को कृषि विकास को चार प्रतिशत बढ़ाने के लिए जो संकल्प लिया गया है, उसके लिए वित्त मंत्री महोदय ने राष्ट्रीय कृषि विकास बैंक जिसको नाबार्ड कहा जाता है, उसके पूंजी आधार को 500 करोड़ रुपये की वृद्धि प्रदान करने का काम किया है। 500 करोड़ पिछले वर्ष दिये गये थे और 500 करोड़ इस वर्ष देने की बात कही है।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY): You have taken more than half-an-hour.

श्री सोमपाल: महोदय मैं एक मिनट और लूंगा। कुछ आलोचनाएं इस बजट के लिए की जा रही हैं कि शायद सस्ती लोकप्रियता प्राप्त करने के लिए हमने कराधान इतना नीचा कर दिया और इसमें जो सम्पत्ति और आय के पुनर्वितरण का पुराना समाजवादी सिद्धांत था, उस नैतिकता का समझौता कर लिया। पर यह बात सही नहीं है और इसका तर्क मैं दे चुका हूं। दूसरी बात कही जाती है कि मुद्रास्फीति बढ़ेगी। यह बिल्कुल गलत बात है क्योंकि आप समाचार पत्रों में विज्ञापन देख रहे हैं कि जितनी भी उपभोक्ता सामग्री है, उसके दाम घटे हैं, दूसरी सामग्री के दाम घटे है। उद्योगों को आपने उत्पादन बढ़ाने के लिए जो प्रोत्साहन दिया है उससे आपूर्ति और

उपलब्धता, जब सामान और सामग्री की बढ़ेगी, तो मुद्रास्फीति के ऊपर उसका स्वागतीय प्रभाव पड़ने वाला है। मैं दो क्षेत्रों में अवश्य अपनी चिन्ता व्यक्त करना चाहता हूं। जिनकी मैं बजट में कुछ कमी देखता हूं। हमारे माननीय वित्त राज्य मंत्री श्री वीरेन्द्र कुमार जी बैठे हैं और मैं उनका इस तरफ विशेष ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहता हूं। प्रथम तो यह है कि कृषि में सरकारी आंकड़ों के अनुसार पूंजी विनिर्माण गति में भयावह कमी आई है। पहली, तीसरी, चौथी, पांचवी, छठी पंचवर्षीय योजना तक यह 18 से 21 प्रतिशत के बीच रही और वर्तमान दर 7.1 प्रतिशत है जो आठवीं पंचवर्षीय योजना के बीच भी लगभग इसी आंकड़े पर अटकी हुई है। विशेष चिन्ता की बात यह है कि सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र में जो पूंजी विनिर्माण हुआ है, कृषि क्षेत्र में वह 5.9 प्रतिशत रह गया, निजी क्षेत्र में तो यह 11 प्रतिशत है। इसलिए यह चिन्ता की बात है और निश्चित रूप से यह इस कारण से है कि कृषि क्षेत्र पूंजी के लिए भूखा रह गया है। जब तक उसमें पर्याप्त पूंजी नहीं लगाई जायेगी तब तब कृषि का विकास अपेक्षित गति से होने वाला नहीं है। हमने जो चार प्रतिशत का लक्ष्य नौवीं पंचवर्षीय योजना के लिए रखा है उसे हम प्राप्त करने में सफल नहीं होंगे। इससे कृषि उत्पादन और खाद्यान्न की आत्मनिर्भरता दोनों ही चिन्ताजनक स्थिति में पहुंच सकते हैं और हो सकता है कि हमें पुनः आयात का सहारा लेना पड़े, उस अपमान का सामना करना पड़े जो हम पीछे करते रहे हैं। इस विषय में मैं एक उल्लेख यह करना चाहता हूं कि पूरी सातवीं पंचवर्षीय योजना के दौरान जितना भी विकास के लिए ऋण दिया गया है उसका मात्र 17 प्रतिशत ही कृषि क्षेत्र में गया है और जितना भवन निर्माण के लिए खर्च किया गया, वित्तीय संस्थानों ने जो भवन निर्माण के लिए भारत भर में ऋण दिया उसका केवल 11 प्रतिशत गांव में गया और 89 प्रतिशत शहरों में। भारत में जितनी बिजली दी गई उसमें से केवल 26 प्रतिशत कृषि क्षेत्र को दी गई और 74 प्रतिशत शहरों में दी गई। बार-बार यह शोर मचाया जाता है कि कृषि को प्रोत्साहन देने के लिए, कृषि को प्राथमिकता देने के लिए सरकार प्रतिबद्ध है। इस स्थिति को ठीक करने के लिए एक छोटा सा कदम अवश्य उठाया गया है और वह है कि नाबार्ड को 500 करोड़ रुपया देने का प्रावधान किया है और इस दिशा में कोई बड़ा कार्यक्रम घोषित नहीं किया गया है। इस दृष्टि से मैं इस बजट में कुछ कमी महसूस करता हूं।

दूसरी बात यह है कि कई उद्योग जो कृषि पर आधारित है जिनमें चीनी, रूई और चावल का उद्योग है। चावल के ऊपर से तो अब नियंत्रण हट गया है लेकिन चीनी उद्योग के ऊपर अभी भी नियंत्रण विद्यमान है। यदि आज भी पूरे भारत के आंकड़े देखें तो 48 प्रतिशत गन्ना आज भी गैर-मिल यानी जो पारम्परिक खांडसारी और गुड़ का उद्योग है उनके पास होता है जिसमें साढ़े चार प्रतिशत से पांच प्रतिशत तक चीनी की रिकवरी होती है, जबकि मिलों के अन्दर साढ़े दस प्रतिशत है। यदि उनको आधुनिक तकनीक अपनाने की अनुमति दे दी जाये। तो इस नई प्रक्रिया से 18 से 23 लाख टन चीनी इतने ही गन्ने से अधिक बनाई जा सकती है। इस राष्ट्रीय हानि के लिए, क्षति के लिए सरकार बिल्कुल संवेदनहीन है, यह एक चिन्ता की बात है। यह मेरा आरोप भी है कि इस संबंध में कोई घोषणा इस बजट में नहीं की गई है। जो बात माननीय डा० जगन्नाथ मिश्र जी ने कही कि इतना सारा कहने के बाद भी एक समग्र कृषि नीति की घोषणा आज तक नहीं हुई है। हमारी कृषि समिति ने 14 मई, 1994 को जो ड्राफ्ट एग्रीकल्चरल पालिसी के ऊपर, उसके प्रारूप के ऊपर अपनी विस्तृत टिप्पणी दी थी, आज भी उस कृषि नीति का मुंह देखने की इजाजत इस सदन को नहीं मिली है। यह बात अत्यन्त खटकने वाली है। इसको शीघ्र अति शीघ्र पूरा किया जाना चाहिए।

मान्यवर, अन्त में एक बात और चिन्ता की है कि हमारी सारी अर्थव्यवस्था....

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY): Still you have to speak on something? You have already taken thirty-five minutes.

SHRI SOM PAL: I think we have forth-eight minutes.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY): but the other Member is there.

SHRI SOM PAL: I know. I have arranged with him. He would not take more than five-eight minutes. In any case, I am going to conclude now.

श्री सोमपाल: एक चिन्ता की बात यह है कि पूरी अर्थ-व्यवस्था और पूरी उत्पादन व्यवस्था हमारी हाई कास्ट इकानामी जिसे कहा जाता है यानि अधिक लागत के ऊपर आधारित है। इसका मुख्य कारण यह है कि जो पूंजी की कीमत है, ब्याज है जिसके ऊपर वित्तीय संस्थाएं आर्थिक संसाधन उपलब्ध कराती हैं उद्योग, व्यापार और कृषि को उसकी दरें बहुत ऊंची हैं। उसका कारण यह दिया जाता है कि नागरिकों द्वारा, परिवारों के द्वारा बैंकों

में जो राशि सावधि जमा योजनाओं में जमा की जाती है, उसके ऊपर बैंकों को अधिक ब्याज देना पड़ता है। उस ब्याज के लिए तर्क दिया जाता है कि वह ब्याज इसलिए देना पड़ता है क्योंकि नागरिकों के मस्तिष्क में 9-10 प्रतिशत मुद्रा-स्फीति अंकित हो गयी है, यदि 12 से 13 प्रतिशत ब्याज उनकी जमा राशि पर नहीं दिया जाएगा तो वह बैंकों में अपनी बचत जमा नहीं करेंगे। मुद्रा-स्फीति क्यों ज्यादा है तो कहा जाता है कि यह घाटे की अर्थ-व्यवस्था के कारण है। इसको सरकार द्वारा अपने स्रोतों से बाहर रहना कहते हैं क्योंकि सरकार बौरोइंग करती है, अधिक उधार ले लेती है, इसलिए घाटा रहता है जिसको अब जाकर 5 प्रतिशत पर किया गया है। यह घाटा इसलिए ज्यादा है क्योंकि सरकारी खर्चा ज्यादा है, जिसको राजस्व व्यय कहा जाता है। सबसे चिंता की बात भी राजस्व घाटा है। इसलिए यह एक दुष्चक्र हो गया है, एक विशिष्ट सर्कल हो गया है। जिसको कैसे तोड़ा जाए इसके लिए मैं सुझाव देना चाहता हूं। महोदय, इस ओर पता नहीं वित्त मंत्री जी का ध्यान क्यों नहीं गया क्योंकि बजट में उन्होंने इस बारे में कोई उल्लेख नहीं किया। इस दुश्चक्र को तोडने के लिए जितनी ऐसी सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र की परिसम्पतियां है, जो अपेक्षा से कम आय पैदा करती हैं या शून्य आय देती हैं, इनमें कुछ तो ऐसी भी हैं जिनसे घाटा होता है, नकारात्मक आय देती हैं तो उन सब परिसम्पतियों का विनिवेश करके, डिसइन्वेस्टमेंट करके जो राशि हमें प्राप्त हो उसको सरकार के ऋण की अदायगी के लिए इस्तेमाल करें जिसके लिए हमें प्रतिवर्ष ब्याज अदा करना पड़ता है। पिछले साल हमें इस पर 60 हजार करोड़ रुपया ब्याज अदा करना पड़ा था और इस साल के बजट में 68 हजार करोड़ रुपये की राशि इसके लिए है। इसको हम इससे अदा करें तो वित्तीय घाटे पर काबू पाया जा सकता है, मुद्रा स्फीति पर काबू पाया जा सकता है, इन राशियों पर देय ब्याज कम किया जा सकता है और जो पूंजी लागत है जिसको निवेश के लिए वित्तीय संस्थाओं से ब्याज पर लेते हैं, उसकी दर को कम किया जा सकता है। इसलिए इस बारे में कुछ महत्वपूर्ण कदम उठाए जाने की आवश्यकता है।

महोदय, रक्षा व्यय और दूसरे जो व्यय है उसमें आकस्मिक कमी नहीं की जा सकती है और राजस्व आय में भी आकस्मिक वृद्धि नहीं की जा सकती है इसलिए ये कदम उठाए जाने चाहिए जिनकी ओर मैंने विस्तार से संकेत किया है। अंत में मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि कुछ ऐसी नीतियों की घोषणा भी सरकार को करनी चाहिए जो संसाधन अनपेक्षित हैं, रिसोर्स न्यूट्रल पालिसी जिसको अंग्रेजी में कहते हैं। इसका मैं एक उदाहरण देता हूं। भारत में कृषि योग्य परती भूमि 39 मिलियन हैक्टेयर है, इतनी परती भूमि पड़ी है और 52 मिलियन हैक्टेयर भूमि ऐसी है जिसे वनीकरण के लिए उपयोग में लाया जा सकता है। वह खाली पड़ी रहती तो कोई चिंता नहीं थी परन्तु उसके ऊपर की मिट्टी हर साल समुद्र में बहुत बड़ी मात्रा में बहकर चली जाती है। एक अनुमान के अनुसार प्रकृति 300 वर्ष में एक इंच मोटी उपजाऊ मिट्टी की परत का निर्माण करती है और हमारी मिट्टी का जिस तरह से कटाव व ह्रास हो रहा है, तीन वर्ष में हम इतना खो देते हैं जितना मां प्रकृति ने 300 वर्षों में हमारे लिए संचित किया था। तो उस भूमि को नीचे तबके के लोगों को, जो भूमिहीन हैं, मजदूर हैं जो छोटे और लघु किसान हैं, जो सीमान्त किसान हैं, जो पूर्व सैनिक हैं या जो टेक्नीकल शिक्षा प्राप्त किए हुए हैं, खासतौर से कृषि स्नातक और कृषि वैज्ञानिक हैं उनको इस भूमि को आवंटित करने की योजना के बारे में बार-बार हमने कृषि समितियों के माध्यम से संस्तुतियां की है। लेकिन सरकार का इस ओर ध्यान नहीं गया है। इस पर जो संस्तुतियां हैं उनके आधार पर सरकार को घोषणा करनी चाहिए ताकि आर्थिक प्रगति हो सके और हमारी अर्थ-व्यवस्था को गतिशीलता मिल सके।

इन शब्दों के साथ, मान्यवर, मैं सदन के सभी पक्षों और दलों से पुनः अपील करता हूं कि वे इस बजट का स्वागत करें और इसमें जो कराधान का सरलीकरण किया गया है, करों की दरें जो घटाई गई है, औद्योगिक उत्पादन और कृषि उत्पादन को प्रोत्साहित करने की नीतियों की जो घोषणा की गई है उसमें वे हमारा सहकार करें, सहयोग करें। बहुत-बहुत धन्यवाद।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY): Mr. Pranab Mukherjee.

SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE (West Bengal): Thank you, Mr. Vice-Chairman.

There are a number of speakers from my party. Therefore, I will not exceed 25 to 30 minutes so that my colleagues can also make their contribution.

Sir, when the Finance Minister presented the Budget, my immediate reaction was that he had done a very clever job. When I mentioned that he had done a clever job, I did not mean that he had tried to do something which was tricky, but what I tried to convey was that he had tackled many issues but that he had

not tackled some very fundamental issues. Those issues will come a little later. I would like to confine my observations to four aspects of the Budget, on which the Finance Minister has given some broad indications. There is no doubt that there are some positive aspects of the Budget on which he has taken credit. One is containing the fiscal dificit at the promised level of 5 per cent for the year 1996-97. Secondly he promised to take some initiatives, which will accelerate the process of reforms, particularly in regard to the expansion of various industrial sectors for investment from abroad and, thirdly, identifying the crucial areas of our strength and also of our weaknesses.

The first point which I would like to deal with is this. The Finance Minister has perhaps deliberately made a departure from the normal practice of formulating his speech. If I remember correctly, from Shanmugam Chetti to even Mr. Chidambaram in his last year's Budget, every Finance Minister in his speech, particularly in part B, where he made the taxation proposals, gave a broad indication at least of the major amendment of taxes as to what would be the revenue implications. This time, if you go through his Budget speech, in 155 paragraphs of his statement, except in one place, you will not find anythig about the revenue implications of the various proposals. But, he has stated to in paragraph 84 of his statement, that he is expecting to have a 15-16

per cent growth in revenue. In this connection he has also stated in paragraph 86 of his statement, which I would like to quote, because that is the area where I would like to seek a clarification from him:—

The tax to GDP ratio for Central Government, which currently is only around 10.5 per cent, needs to increase to sustain the needs of public investment and social expenditure." Therefore, I would like to know how is it according to his Economic Survey the tax to GDP ratio is 7.8 per Cent? If you add the non-tax revenue receipts and if you take the total revenue receipts, then it comes to 10.4 per Cent of GDP. I would like to seek this clarification, because I have a little doubt about the revenue forecast, which the hon. Minister projected in his Budget statement.

In the Revised Estimate, he has taken into account various taxes. Take the case of the Union Excise. The Budget Estimate was Rs. 46,884 crores. In the Revised Estimate he has taken Rs. 46,190 crores. Budget Estimate for the next year i.e. 1997-98 was Rs. 52,200 crores. Assuming that his calculation would come to be correct, about which I have a little doubt, because on the floor of this very House on 25th February—three days before the presentation of the Budget—the hon. Finance Minister, in reply to a starred Question indicated that the Central Excise Revenue realisation for the first ten months.....from 1st April, 96 to 31st January,97 was Rs. 36,080 crores. That means on *pro rata* it was Rs. 3,600 crores per month. If we want to reach the figure of Rs. 46,000 crores, we will have to assume in the month of February and in the month of March, in these two months, the average excise duty realisation would be Rs. 5,000 crores per month. Otherwise, that figure would not come. not only that, later on in one of the newspapers, perhaps it was in *The Indian Express,* I found that they have collected the figures of provisional realisation from 1st April to 31st January and there is a substantial shortfall except in income tax and corporation tax. But as per *pro rata* realisation there is a shortfall on two major items—excise duty and customs duty. If the Finance Minister expects that there would be a revenue buoyancy in the two months, February and March, then, perhaps he can make it up. But I am not quite sure about it because these assumptions he has taken based on 15 to 16 per cent growth of revenue as he has mentioned in the first part of his statement. I do agree that there is a need to have a larger share in the tax-GDP-ration and particularly with-

in the direct tax. I would like to suggest that there should be more increase in the contribution of direct taxes. The contribution of direct taxes to our GDP is much below the desired level. I do agree with him that in a country which is claiming to have 250 million middle class people, at least there would be 40 to 50 million middle class households. According to the Finance Minister's assessment, the number of tax-payers in this country would be 12 million. then, where would the balance 30 to 32 million middle class people go? His scheme of expending the direct net is welcome. I wish him all success in that area. But there I have my doubt and to what extent we would be able to succeed remains to be seen. He has to intensify the survey operation of the direct tax organisation. He has to streamline the tax collection machinery. It is very important. Till today income tax Dept. is not computerised even for 12 million tax-payers. When you will have 20 or 35 million tax-payers, how would you manage it. If it is not computerised? I am afraid it would pose serious problems. Our cost of revenue realisation is not much. But if you analyse the cost of excise duty realisation, the cost of customs duty realisation, would be much less compared to that of the cost of the direct tax realisation. so, this is one area where he will have to concentrate. Unless he streamlines the tax administrative machinery, it would not be posssible for him to widen the tax net and bring in more people under the tax net.

The second issue on which I would like to comment is the fiscal deficit. He has indicated in his Budget that the fiscal deficit for the year 1997-98 would be Rs. 65,454 crores, 4.5 per cent of the GDP. Here I am a little intrigued when I heard the official spokesman of the Ministry of Finance in a television interview. He said that assuming 8 per cent of the rate of inflation and with the level of various tax proposals, expenditure proposals, receipt items and expenditure items, it would be possible for them to confine the fiscal deficit to the level of 4.5 per cent of the GDP. I other words, the implication is that the Government has assumed that the rate of inflation would be 8 per cent. The Finance Minister is saying that 15 to 16 per cent would be the growth of revenue. There also the inbuilt calculation is, inflation would be 8 to 9 per cent and 6 to 7 per cent would be the growth. Even assuming that 7 per cent would be the real GDP growth.....he is assuming a rate of inflation of eight per cent. Therefore, I would like to know from the hon. Minister what model he is having. Are you having the assumption of an eight per cent inflation, thereafter computing all your figures and thereafter arriving at the fiscal deficit of 4.5 per cent? Suppose inflation comes down to five per cent. Or you do not have any plan to keep the inflation below eight per cent. Let us be very clear. Why I am saying so is, I do not agree with the concept of the Finance Ministry. When the busy season, busy credit season, started, the Reserve Bank reduced the CRR from 17th of October till 17th of January, in several instalments, by a three percentage point. And Rs. 8400 crores were injected into the system by reducing the CRR from 13 per cent to 10 per cent. And what was the plea? The plea was that the high contraction in the monetary policy was causing a high rate of interest and creating some sort of credit crunch. I agree with the first part of the objective that it created a high rate of interest and to some extent, with the release of money, there was a sobering, moderating, influence over the interest rate marginally. But, at the same time, we have to take the risk of inflation. And where was the credit crunch? Banks were having the money. The problem was not that the banks and the lending institutions did not have money to give the lenders. But the problem was that the banks and the lending institutions did not want to invest in industries or in other economic activities because they were assured of getting a higher return by investing in Government papers, in Government securities, in Government bonds. Therefore, there was no

credit crunch as such which did justify the reduction of the CRR and the expansion of the money supply. He has assumed already in the Budget that he is expecting to have 16 per cent growth in money supply. Therefore, I would just like to know from the hon. Minister what his priority is. Is inflation control within the priority of yours?

Mr. Vice-Chairman, even in his speech, in the fourth paragraph, he has referred to seven broad objectives. I quote: "My first Budget articulated seven broad objectives. These objectives embraced vital elements such as growth, basic minimum services, employment, macroeconomic stability, investment (particularly in infrastructure), human development and a viable balance of payments." Then, again, he says: "I believe these objectives remain as valid today as they were eight months ago. This is intriguing. Inflation does not find place in his objectives, in his priorities. I understand the 1996-97 Budget because at that point of time, when this new Government came to exist, the rate of inflation was below five per cent. Therefor, inflation control might not be a priority to the Finance Minister in the year 1996-97. But When we have already entered into the regime of 7-8 per cent inflation rate, can we say that it does not deserve the Government's attention and inflation control is not necessary?

Now, coming to the areas of infrastructural development and creating the necessary atmosphere for inviting investment from abroad, will we get investment from abroad? Whether we will get 10 billion US dollars is a big question. If the investment report of 1996 is correct, I find from that report that in the year 1995-96, the total investible resources were roughly 315 billion US dollars. Of that, nearly 64 per cent was invested only in the developed countries, industrialised countries.

73 per cent of the balance were invested in developing counries, including some of the Asian Tigers. I mentioned in one calculation that nearly 38 billion US dollars were available for a large number of countries, including India. Out of 38 billion US dollars, whether we will get 10 billion US dollars or not, I do not know. Even if we get, for that we are required to provide them the necessary infrastructure. I am not going into the whole range of the infrastructure. I am confining myself to two aspects. One is power and another is hydrocarbon sources of energy. So far as the power sector is concerned, I do agree that we had our own responsibility and we have not been able to do enough in the Eighth Plan. The Eighth Plan target was to create an additional capacity of 36,000 megawatts. The requirement was 36,000 megawatts, but we could create hardly 18,000 megawatts. There was a slippage; I do agree. According to the experts, if we want to avoid a power crisis, say, by the end of the Ninth Plan, two things are to be done. One is the power generation capacity should not be less than 1,28,000 megawatts and the installed capacity should be fully utilised, and the other factor is that the plant load factor should not be less than 60 to 63 per cent. If these two conditions are fulfilled the power generation capacity should be in the order of 1,28,000 megawatts and the PLF would be 60 to 63 per cent then there would be no power crisis in 2002 A.D. cent. In the beginning of the Ninth Plan, when we are just starting, our installed power generation capacity, taking all the three sectors, is 82,000 megawatts. Therefore, 46,000 megawatts of additional power are to be added in the next five years. I am not just going by pro rata. If I want to add 46,000 megawatts in a period of five years, a provision of eight to nine thousand megawatts should be made in the first year itself because in monetary terms you will get advantage only if you make more investments in the first year of the Ninth Plan. In the Central Sector he has made a provision for 3005 megawatts. How is it going to help us? If I understand correctly, the responsibility of the Centre, States

and Union Territories taken together would be roughly 32,000 megawatts. 14,000 megawatts, which have been approved by the Central Electricity Authority, are to come from the private sector. The financial requirement @ 5 crores of rupees per megawatt would be roughly 230,000 crores of rupees (5 × 46) and for 32,000 megawatts, for the Government sector alone, it would be 1,60,000 crores of rupees. Where is the provision? If a provision is not made, merely expecting investments from abroad won't help us, even though they have the investible surpluses. Though I have given up my pipe smoking and the Finance Minister is not known for smoking, it appears to be some sort of a pipe-dream and it is not going to be realised a target of to bn US investment abroad unless the infrastructural facilities are created. In this connection comes the question of developmental expenditure. Yes, I do congratulate the Finance Minister for keeping fiscal deficit at the targeted level of 5 per cent of GDP. But at what cost? 14,000 crores of rupees savings have taken place from the expenditure projections. Of that 4,000 crores of rupees are coming because you don't have to pay to the Central Government employees on the recommendations of the Fifth Pay Commission. So, you have 4,000 crores of rupees. But 10,000 crores of rupees are coming from the savings on plans. The developmental expenditure, as Dr. Jagannath Mishra pointed out very correctly was 87,086 crores in the BE of 1996-97. The actual amount will be available after the audit. In the Revised Estimates, it is 10,000 crore less, 77,580 crores. That means, you are main-taining fiscal deficit at the cost of developmental expenditure. You were talking of the Accelerated Irrigation Programme. What I find is, 1,248 crores of rupees were allocated for irrigation and flood control. The Revised Estimates exenditure is 815 crores of rupees, and for 1997-98 it has been given 323 crores of rupees.

What does it mean? That means you are creating a new service or a new programme and thereafter you are allocating money. But if you reduce it from the original head and it has been transferred from one pocket to another, from one nomenclature to another nomenclature, it is not a substantial expansion or increase. The same is the story of rural development. Yes, you have given some money for rural development, for building up of the rural infrastructure. But if you go to the broad head of rural development including rural infrastructure, the total allocation for the year 1996-97 was Rs 7,520 crores. It was Rs. 6,664 crores in the Revised Estimate. Therefore, there has been a substantial reduction. That is why I said it was a clever Budget. You have to make many computations and calculations to arrive at these figures. Therefore, these are the areas where we shall have to concentrate. If we cannot do that, Mr. Vice-Chairman, I am afraid that it would be difficult for us to launch the Ninth Plan in a real, meaningful sense. I know the Finance Minister can easily say that it is practical but the plan has not been finalised, and it will take some time. But you will have to make the budgetary provisions. What is the budgetary provisions? You are saying that the outlay for the public sector, Centre, State and Union Territories taken together, for the period of five years would be Rs. 7,63,000 crores. I am not going into the IEBR. I am not going into the aspects of internal resource mobilisation and extra-budgetary resources. I am not going into the aspect of the demand of the Planning Commission that the budgetary support should be Rs. 3,75,000 crores. I am talking of what the Finance Ministry agreed to. I read it in the newspapers, I don't have the direct information, that they would give Rs. 3,50,000 crores of budgetary support. Where is that provision of budgetary support? How much budgetary support has he given to the plan? He has given budgetary support to the plan to the extent of Rs. 36,136 crores in the Central Plan and Rs. 26,000 crores odd as Central Plan assistance to states. It comes to Rs. 62,000 one odd

crores, short of Rs. 8,000 crores. If you cannot make provision in the Budget, surely I cannot expect that in the Supplementary Demands, all the three batches of Supplementary Demands taken together, you are going to the extent of making a provision for Rs. 8,000 crores. That means we are starting the first year of the Ninth Plan with lesser budgetary support and expect that all the major public sector enterprises including communication, transport, power will raise their resources from the market. Yes, they can raise their resources from the market. But at what cost? The cost would be substantially high. What the Railway Minister was telling us the other day—I don't know what would be its implication is that he was also not getting adequate budgetary support which he had expected to get from the Finance Minister. But anyway that is beside the point and they will have to look into it.

The last point on which I would like to make some observations, and thereafter I will conclude, is that we talk of expenditure aspect too much. Now where are we sacrificing? In 1980-81 our revenue base, our resource base, was much smaller. Our total revenue in 1980-81 was Rs. 12,419 crores at the beginning of the Sixth Plan. Non-tax revenue was Rs. 7,261 crores. The total revenue receipt was Rs. 19,680 crores. out of that, we spent 6.6% of GDP on Plan. When our revenue our resource base has gone so high, the GDP has also gone so high. But our plan expenditure in terms of percentage of GDP has come down substantitally from 6.6% to 4.4%. I am not talking Mr. Vice-Chairman, of the Ninth Plan. I am talking of the last year of the Eighth Plan.

In the last year of the Eighth Plan, i.e. 1996-97, the Plan Expenditure as percentage of GDP was 4.4 per cent. Assuming that resources for a substantial area in the manufacturing and service sectors will come from the market, not from the Government. But when you talk in terms of percentage of GDP, it includes everything. Therefore, this is one area where we shall have to concentrate. If we want to concentrate on this area, the policy of the Government of depending more and more on borrowed resources will have to be curtailed. It will have to be curtailed because the interest payment which was 1.9 per cent of GDP has gone up to 4.8 per cent of GDP in 1996-97. We cannot simply pass the buck on to subsidies. We cannot say that because we are increasing subsidies, this is happening. In terms of percentage of GDP, the subsidy has come down from 1.4 per cent in 1980 to 1.3 per cent in 1996-97. Subsidy has come down and the interest payment has gone up. While the interest payment is going up, the Government in its anxiety, is going to depend more and more on borrowed money. I do agree that the Government cannot totally depend on its own revenue. The Government will have to borrow money. But I have very serious differences with the approach which the Finance Ministry is taking, i.e. they are depending more and more on high cost borrowed resources. It does not help economically. Simply doing away with the 91 day treasury bill and depending more on monetised deficit is just some sort of technical adjustment. But you deliberately wanted to have a high cost borrowing by reducing your share from SLR. yes, it may be an ideal situation. But that ideal condition does not prevail for the time being. Still the Government has to make a huge investment in the infrastructure sector, particularly in three sectors, apart from the social sector. You have to make investment in irrigation sector. You have to make investment in power sector. You have to make investment in road transport and communication sector. If you have to make investment in these areas and if you don't have your own resources either through tax revenue or through non-tax revenue, you will have to depend on the soft window of borrowing route. But instead of going through the soft window, if you deliberately go through the hard window, ultimately you will be passing on the liabilities to the future

generation and creating a situation which would not be sustainalde even for a longer period of time.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, as I mentioned earlier, surely my approach is not negative. There are many positive aspects of the Budget, as I mentioned, about tax cuts, fiscal deficit. Similarly, the stock market requires support. But as usual the Indian industry and particularly the stock market are a bit emotional. With a little bit support they go on the sky and when they try to analyse it and find that the ground realities are a little different, immediately they become depressed. I only hope that the confidence which has been created will continue for a longer period of time and it will not have any crash.

With these words, I conclude. Thank You.

SHRI S. MUTHU MANI (TAMIL NADU): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I rise to speak on the General Budget, 1997-98 on behalf of the AIADMK. At the very outset, I wish to say that as described by our leader, Dr. Puratchi Thalaivi, former Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu, this is a pro-rich Budget. By giving small concessions to the common man here and there, the Finance Minister has tried to create an impresion that this Budget offers a lot to the poor people. The finance Minister claims that he has increased the allocation for rural development by 16.2 per cent and for the social sector by 33.3 per cent. These statistics are misleading.

When put together, it comes to only 10.7 per cent of the total expenditure of the Government as against 9.7 per cent in 1996-98 revised estimates. So, the actual allocation for these two vital sectors has increased by only one per cent. But I am not sure whether the Government will really spend this money. Last year, the expenditure on social sector and rural development declined from 1.7 per cent of the Gross Domestic Product of 1995-96 to 1.5 per cent in 1996-97. I charge the Finance Minister of neglecting social commitments only to maintain a false prestige of managing fiscal deficit efficiently.

In 1996-97, the Finance Minister spent Rs. 1,500 crores less on the social sector. In rural development, the under-spending is to the order of Rs. 900 crores. After having spent Rs. 2,400 crores less for the social and rural development sector, the Finance Minister tells us that the Centre would spend Rs. 22,988 crores in these areas in 1997-98. The track record of this Government and the Finance Minister do not really give us any hope. So, I want the Finance Minister to explain why expenditure on social sector and the rural development sector was cut down last year. Again if we put together rural development, social services, agriculture, education, irrigation, flood control, energy and transport, the Budget estimates for 1996-97 was Rs. 87,086 crores while the actual spending was Rs. 77,518 crores. Nearly, Rs. 10,000 crores were not spent. I would like to know where this money has gone.

A lot has been said about tax concessions. A thorough study of the tax proposals will only disappoint us. The concessions given on personal income is too less for the salaried class. The increase in the standard deduction by Rs. 5000 and reduction in the rate of tax by five per cent on each slab is too marginal. The Fifth Pay Commission's report is likely to be accepted. This will result in the enhancement of salaries of the Central Government employees. The States will follow suit. The employees of the State Governments will also get enhanced salaries. But if tax is levied in this way, the employees take-home salary will not increase even marginally. A majority of the employees will pay income-tax equal to one months' salary. So, I would request the Minister to reconsider this. He should raise the standard deduction, at least, by another Rs. 10,000. I also want the Minister to assure the House that the HRA and the DA will not be taxed as recommended by

the Pay Commission. The Budget proposals and the performance of the United Front Government show that the finances of the Government are based on administered prices and they are not based on tax revenue. There is no attempt made to plug loopholes in tax collection and to check tax evasion by big business houses. But the Government has been increasing the issue price of sugar, wheat and rice. It has also hiked postal rates and train fares. We all know that a hefty hike in petroleum prices is round the corner. All this will adversely affect the living conditions of the poor. Prices of even essential commodities have gone up.

The Centre has been trumpeting about the recently revamped Public Distribution System. But the needy are yet to receive something. The Centre announced a system whereby two categories of people, according to income, would become eligible to two different schemes. Now the Tamil Nadu Government has come out with yet another system with three categories. This has only resulted in confusion and not the availability of subsidised commodities. I expect the Finance Minister to throw more light on this.

The Budget proposals show that Rs. 28,600 crores would flow into the agricultural sector. But I am sorry to say that the interests of agricultural workers have not been taken care of. The daily wage of an agricultural worker has dropped in real terms. It dropped by 0.5 per cent in 1994-95 and by 0.7 per cent in 1995-96. They are unorganised workers without any bargaining power. We have been demanding that these agricultural workers should be provided with the minimum basic needs like housing, health insurance, education for their children, contingency fund to support them during non-seasons, provident fund and gratuity etc. But this Budget has disappointed them. Even the poor beedi workers' livelihood is at stake because of increase of excise duty by one rupee per 1000 beedis. This will result in decline of sale of beedis and thereby throwing thousands of beedi workers out of job. The Minister should withdraw this hike in excise duty. Likewise no action plan has been announced to safeguard the interest of handloom workers. The Centre should take immediate steps to protect 22 reserved items for the handloom sector and allocate adequate funds to make handloom sector competitive and improve living conditions of handloom workers. The Finance Minister has failed to bring to book those who have indulged in large scale irregularities in nationalised banks. For example, hundreds of crores of rupees have been given by several branches of Indian Bank in Tamil Nadu to influential people. They are all unsecured loans given at the behest of political leaders. The Government claims to have ordered enquiries into it. But it is only an eyewash. No step has been taken to arrest the abetters of these frauds. I demand that the Finance Minister should reveal the names of those who prevailed upon the Bank to dole out public money. In the year 2001, our population would cross 100 crore mark. Even now, 7.5 crore people are unemployed in the country. The economic reforms have done no good so far. The Government has been indulging in retrenchment of workers in one name or the other. The sick industries cleared by the BIFR have not been revived. The economic survey has indicated 1.9 per cent decline in industrial production in 1996-97. The Government has not made any provision for providing financial assistance either directly or through financial institutions for reviving the sick industries. The Finance Minister has compared with the economy of China. He knows that the economy and the policies of China are too different. In China land reforms are complete. It has made a strong base for self-sufficiency. Then only it opened the doors for global economy. Yet, it refused to be dictated to by the World Bank and IMF. But what has happened in India? Attempts to bring about land reforms

never came through. The A.I.A.D.M.K. Government passed a land reforms Bill and sent it for the approval of the Centre. The former Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu, Dr. Puratchi Thalaivi had sent many reminders to the Centre to give its approval. But even after a decade, after passing the Bill, nothing has happened. The Finance Minister knows all this. Some big landlords have prevailed upon the Centre not to approve it. Now that the Finance Minister is delighted by the land reforms in China. I would appeal to him to tell his Government to approve the land reforms Bill as passed by the A.I.A.D.M.K. Government. While the price of post card, the only means of communication for the poor, has been increased, concession is given on customs and import duties for items like computer, cellular phone and other luxury items. Hike in postal rates by 100 per cent is unprecedented and should be withdrawn. The reduction of import and customs duty will be a severe blow to the already struggling domestic industries. As rightly observed by our Leader, Dr. Puratchi Thalaivi, ex-Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu, it is a pro-rich, anti-poor, anti-workers Budget which will lead to further price rise that will adversely affect the common man. I will conclude my speech, reciting a couplet from Thirukkural. The translation goes thus, whose rod from right deflects, whose counsel doth refuse, at once his wealth and people utterly shall lose. Sir, with these words I conclude. Thank you. [Vice-Chairman **(Shri Md. Salim)** *in chair*]

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MD. SALIM): Shri V. Kishore Chandra S. Deo. He is absent. Shrimati Jayanti Patnaik.

SHRIMATI JAYANTI PATNAIK (Orissa): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, this Budget has created a euphoria among the rich and the middle class people because of the heavy cuts in the income-tax, corporate tax and various other indirect taxes. I may call the Budget as a pro-rich Budget. The Finance Minister has said that the fiscal deficit will be contained at 4.5% of the GDP in the next year. More significantly, he has promised to deliver a primary surplus of Rs. 2,546 crores. This is first indication since 1991 that we are pulling ourselves back from the debt trap which was induced by excessive Government borrowing and high interest costs. While promising to keep the fiscal deficit declining, the Finance Minister has proposed a massive dose of monetisation, as much as Rs. 16,000 crores, in just one year. This compares with the revised Budget deficit estimated at Rs. 6,900 crores in 1996-97. Starting with the next year's Budget, the Finance Minister has done away with the concept of Budget deficit since he has decided to replace the system of *ad hoc* treasury bills financing the ways-and-means advances to bridge the temporary revenue and expenditure mismatches. In the very first year, the Minister has decided to monetise an amount which is two-and-a-half times the 1996-97 Budget deficit. This may lead to inflation in a year in which there may be a monsoon failure after eight good years. Besides that, if you superimpose the monestisation upon this, inflation could become a major problem. We know that the railway freight rates have already been increased and the possibility of adjustment in the Oil Pool Account is on the cards. With all this, inflation could become a major problem. Inflation at the rate of 8% for the second year in a row sends a wrong signal. It is not good for the long-term management of the country. Our economy is surely vulnerable to the inflationary shocks. The muddled thinking of this Government on the expansion of the Public Distribution System is going to create a near-crisis situation. Petroleum sector has been a poor performer with the domestic production failing by 10 per cent. This has to be viewed together with the quantum jump in the consumption of oil and a significant increase in the international price and the depreciation of the rupee. The POL import bill is expected

to increase to Rs. 33,000 crores which is 40% higher than that of the previous year. We know that the prices of petroleum products will be increased. But the Finance Minister has been silent on this. It is a dangerous gamble. The Finance Minister has assumed that the cuts in the tax rates will result in better tax revenue as more and more taxpayers will come forward to pay the taxes honestly. But this theory may not materialise given the psychological atmosphere of our country and the inefficient tax collection machinery. If this gamble does not pay off, then we will head for a great inflation and a Mexico-like situation. The Voluntary Disclosure Scheme is based on immorality. It rewards dishonesty and punishes those who have been paying the taxes dutifully at higher rates in the past as honest citizens. Sir, already there are signs of a fall in advance tax receipts. Many tax payers and companies are preferring to postpone their present liabilities to the next financial year as it will give benefit of huge amounts since the tax rates are much lower in the next financial year. In a country like India where tax payers are few in number in the upper income brackets, there is no justification to lower taxes to such an amount as had been done by the Finance Minister. It is difficult to understand how it will cope with the overall rate of growth of revenue, which has not gone up.

I come to the infrastructure sector which is the most neglected in India, and the 1997-98 Budget doesn't address the problem properly. Public investment in power generation, highways, railways, ports has to improve. Leaving greater initiative to the private sector will not do as investment in infrastructure is not attractive enough to the private sector due to a long gestation period. Sir, raising of investment limit in plant and machinery from Rs. 60 lakhs to Rs. 3 crores for small-scale industry will prove highly detrimental to its growth. The large and medium sectors will be tempted to enter into this category to enjoy the benefits available only to SSI. This will paralyse the small-scale industrial units as they would not be able to stand and compete with the large and medium-scale industrial units.

Sir, the dereservation of 14 items is a big blow to the growth of SSI. Through an attack on the SSI the Finance Minister perhaps wanted to attack a major source of employment and render millions of workers unemployed in the small-scale sector. Today morning also it was raised here that there is no mention of Khadi Udyog and that the textile sector is suffering. So, all these things have to be looked into.

Sir, not enough has been done for agriculture and irrigation. Already there are signs of stagnation in agricultural production. Its rate of growth is lagging behind the population growth. Fertiliser subsidy mostly helps the rich farmers of agriculturally advanced States. Special schemes and incentives for backward States, especially those which are growing paddy and which are rainfed in Eastern India, are necessary. These are absent in the Budget. Sir, as far as agriculture is concerned, we have already come to know that the Plan outlay has been marginally increased and it is Rs. 2,969 crores for 1997-98 as against the Budget allocation of Rs. 2,831 crores in 1996-97. The Finance Minister in his Budget speech has claimed that the increased flow of credit to the farm sector was in consonance with the Common Minimum Programme. The Common Minimum Programme had proposed doubling of flow of credit to agriculture and agro-based industry within five years. We have seen the newspaper reports about the Agriculture Minister's statement regarding Government's commitment to development of agriculture. But, in spite of this professed commitment to agriculture, there is no policy change in the Budget. The thinking is the same. What he has said is, "Concentrate on industry, give some money and some subsidies to ag-

riculture". That's all. He also lamented that the Government is willing to provide a relief of Rs. 1,500 crores through cut in Income-tax rates. The top 100 companies stand to save Rs. 5,000 crores from the Budget. The Agriculture Minister has said that all that seems is that money is there, but why the money has not been given to agriculture?

Sir, the Finance Minister has said that he would not hesitate to import wheat, but there is no money to grow wheat. So, we have to think of all these things. The Finance Minister while rationalising his Budget for agriculture said that the allocation has been made to the related sectors of agriculture such as irrigation and rural development. In the 1996-97 Budget, Rs. 1,267 crores were provided for irrigation and the Revised Estimates provided Rs. 831 crores. But, the 1997-98 Budget provides Rs. 341 crores for irrigation. What a sad matter it is! You can just imagine it. So also rural development. Similarly there is deficiency in development in the 1997-98 Budget.

Sir, the Agriculture Minister has also said that you just provide rural infrastructure. Okay. It is necessary for the people. But the farmers will prefer first to be supplied quality seeds rather than rural road. How can a farmer produce without seeds? Krishi Vigyan Kendras also cannot be replaced by the idea of providing rural roads.

Sir, I must say that primary and secondary education and primary health care are great areas of deficiency.

Women health services and reproductive health services are very badly shaped and these are very badly needed also. We have to have health services for women, especially when we know that infant mortality and maternity mortality is very high in our country. These areas have not been addressed properly in this Budget.

Sir, steel, pig-iron and cement industry are facing and unprecedented recession. There is no relief in the Budget for this core sector also.

Sir, there are special projects in different States which have not been addressed properly. We have been raising these issues so many times. Hon. Members have also expressed their concern for them. Thre is one such project called KBK districts of Orissa. There is no mention in the Budget about this project. It was started when late Rajiv Gandhi was the Prime Minister. At that time, more money was given for it. But, there is no mention of this project in this Budget. This project is exclusively meant for the tribal people and drought-prone areas. So, this has to be addressed properly and the Finance Minister has to look into it.

Sir, I must say that it is a pro-rich Budget. The poor has no significant gain from this Budget. Let us hope that it does consider the vast economic disparity of this country because we have to see that the economic and regional disparities should not be there. The Budget should be made accordingly. Thank you very much.

SHRIMATI RENUKA CHOWDHURY (Andhra Pradesh): Sir, I want the Finance Minister, Shri P. Chidambaram, to please leave while I am talking. If he sits next to me, he will intimidate me.

श्री महेश्वरी सिंह (हिमाचल प्रदेश): मैडम, आपका रोब इतना है कि वे यहां से जा ही नहीं सकते।

श्री सुरेन्द्र कुमार सिंगला (पंजाब): यह सुनने के लिए ही आपको आये है। ...(व्यवधान...

SHRI VAYALAR RAVI (Kerala): It is a serious offence against a woman and the Finance Minister must be prosecuted for it! At the outset, I wish to congratulate the Finance Minster for having brought this golden jubilee Budget gift to India on her 50 years of Independence. There are obvious reasons, salient features, which all of us are seized of and we appreciate it. Some have called it a happy Budget, a user-friendly Budget, capital market revival Budget gender-

friendly Budget etc. He did give money for girl education. Some of the positive sides of this are; deficit target is expected to be met in a lower fiscal deficit, GDP ratio of 4.5 per cent is projected for the financial year of 1997-98, revenue deficit is to be contained partly through substantial expenditure compression in interest, subsidy payment, financing Government deficit through *ad hoc* Treasury Bills has been scrapped and instead of it a scheme of ways and means is to be introduced. These are some of the measures for which the Minister can get up and take a bow. Sir, I am not going to touch the traditional and cliched references to the Budget. I want to delve inot what I anticipate, what I am afraid of because I am a representative of the public, I perhaps voice the uncertainty that the public is afraid of, that is, an imminent petroleum hike. Why a petroleum hike? We have not addressed ourselves to Oil Pool deficit. ...(*Interruptions*)... The Union Finance Minister is absolutely right when he says that no Budget in the past has dealt with the Oil Pool deficit. ...(*Interruptions*)...

SHRI R. K. KUMAR (Tamil Nadu): Earlier they used to increase the prices through the mechanism of administered prices. ...(*Interruptions*)... They used to increase the prices before the Budget. ...(*Interruptions*)... They have not done it now because they will be in a Catch-22 situation. ...(*Interruptions*)... If they do it now, they will have to face the public outcry. ...(*Interruptions*)... It is the Government's loan. ...(*Interruptions*)...

SHRIMATI RENUKA CHOWDHURY (Andhra Pradesh): So, he says and, as you said, when the hike is before the Budget, we do not take cognizance of it. ...(*Interruptions*)... When we were in school we were told that there is a bird called ostrich. I am not suggesting in any way that he is that bird. ...(*Interruptions*)... We were told in school that there is a bird called ostrich which buries its head in the sand and thinks that nobody else can see it. ...(*Interruptions*)... It cannot fly away. ...(*Interruptions*)... It is absolutely correct when he says. ...(*Interruptions*)... It is not fair for us to haul him over the coals for not talking of Oil Pool Deficit which is to the tune of Rs. 15,000 crores. I would set the argument that it is not his problem. It is fair enough if we do not want to discuss it as a part of the Budget. It is not a part of the Budget. I am perfectly willing to accept this argument. However, in the normal circumstances I would have accepted it, had it not been for the fact that Oil Pool Account is supposed to be, meant to be, a self-

balancing system. That is why we did not go into the international tariff rates. We levelled off at a certain rate, and whether international prices rise or fall we will be able to maintain an average and that would cover a self-balancing system. But, I am forced to take cognizance of it on account of the prevailing uncertainty in the oil industry throughout the world and considerable variations in the Oil Pool Account that take place on both sides. However, today I hear an alarm bell ringing and I am deeply concerned; I have this great growing sense of uneasiness that we are no longer going to be in control of this mostrous Oil Pool deficit which is threatening to swallow this fantastic Budget that the Union Finance Minister has given us. I am forced to come to this because the Government in its own report which was given in September 1996 by the Strategic Planning group of Restructuring of Oil Industry does not take congnizance any more that there is a self-balancing system. When was this found? It was found last year itself.

SHRIMATI RENUKA CHOWDHURY: I quote, Sir, "Consequently, the oil companies have shot up to 5070 crores as on 01.04.1996. It is essential that an immediate action plan be drawn up to generate surplus in the Oil Pool Account to clear the outstandings within

a specific time-frame of one or two years. The current levels of outstanding are increasing, as steep increase in the consumer prices across the board will have a spiral effect on all other consumer prices to increase the inflationary pressures. The other alternative will be to provide revenue budget support by apportioning a part of the cess and other oil revenues to the Oil Pool Account. In any case, a deficit action is required to be initiated to neutralise outstanding claims of oil companies; otherwise oil PSUs will become non-viable and the country's economic security will be at stake." Sir, this not a charge that has been levelled by me. I am merely refreshing the memory that we have set off the alarm bell and they have obviously realised that at these levels there is no self-balancing system, there is no corrective measure and for the first time we have gone in to ask for budgetary support and hence it is very much a budget problem .....*(Interruptions)*.... So, I am worried that at the level of 5070 crores they did expect the scheme to self-balance. How then do we take this unusual route for pleading? Then, they have come to plead for budgetary support. How can we disclaim responsibility towards this aspect? If I understand the relationship between the Government and the refineries, it is very easily understood. You import the crude and give it to them. they process it, refine it and there is a total buy-back. So, they don't have to worry about marketing. They do not have to worry about anything. they find everything going smoothly; and for this business of refining the crude they pay 12 per cent post-tax return on their network. Now, what happens to this effort of the Indian refineries? It is guarantee. We are all crying ourselves hoarse about undertaking guarantee for power sector. but, here is a guarantee that has been given by the Government that by virtue of processing this crude, the Government has everything else. They are paying 12 per cent post-tax return. If this not paid and if don't make efforts to tackle the Oil Pool deficit, then the Government is going to violate its sacred commitment to these refineries. Today, these refineries are owed 15,000 crores and the figure is mounting every second, every second that we are sitting here. Now, if we say that they are not going to be seized with this in the budget if we ask for an assurance that they are ruling out a price-hike, what happens to this? Where do these companies go? We are definitely seized with this problem. we cannot wish it away. I do not know what is going to happen with the present in temperate mood that is prevalent in the country. Someone can file a PIL. the courts may take cognizance that the guarantees are not being honoured by the Government. So it is a problem ....*(Interruptions)*....

SHRI R.K. KUMAR: It was a net worths upto last year but since last year it is 12 per cent .....*(Interruptions)*.... on working capital also.

THE VICE CHAIRMAN (SHRI MD. SALIM): Mr. Kumar, you have already spoken and consumed the time allotted to your party .....*(Interruptions)*.... your Partly is alloted 20 minutes and three names are there ....*(Interruptions)*....

SHRIMATI RENUKA CHOWDHURY: No, no, no Sir, I am concluding.

THE VICE CHAIRMAN (SHRI MD. SALIM): O.K. .....*(Interruptions)*....

SHRI R.K. KUMAR: Sir, I will keep quiet from now. I have only said not only 12 per cent or network since last year, but it is 12 per cent of working capital also.

THE VICE CHAIRMAN (SHRI MD. SALIM): You are free to help her, but the time would be calculated accordingly.

SHRIMATI RENUKA CHOWDHURY: This has to be deducted from my time. .....*(Interruptions)*....

Sir, I just want to give the figures, as Mr. Kumar was interested in figures. On 31st March, 1993, it was Rs. 4,903.8

crores. We have had an accelerated, inflated, figure. On 31st March, 1995, it was Rs. 3,764.52 crores. For the year ended 31st March, 1996, the estimated figure is Rs. 16,500 crores. These are mind-boggling figures. I have neither the intelligence nor the ability to understand these figures. Perhaps, the finance Minister would explain this to me later.

The point I am making, at this moment, is this. I want to understand. The rest of the world also does not agree that it is not our problem. At the IMF, they are talking about our overall public sector deficit. We cannot afford to see these things in isolation and form absolutely independent opinions. We are actually concerned with the overall public deficit, including the consolidated Accounts of the Central and the State Governments, as well as that of the Central public enterprises.

We have a problem of mammoth proportions. Hence, this growing uneasiness that I am feeling. hence, my inability to see this not as a part of the Budget. The fact is, we are going to pay this price, particularly, when the interest rates start going up. In the meanwhile, Sir, we have to address ourselves to the question as to what are these companies to whom these amounts are owed. Their internal accruals have been affected very badly. There are implosions. There is an internal haemorrhage which we are not able to stop. They would have to go for borrowings. When they go for borrowings, their investment plans cannot be executed. When they find that their investment plans have not been executed, they have been postponed, where do they go?

If, today, the IOC were to enter the market to borrow Rs. 1,000 crores, what interest have they to pay? I do not even want to compute. At what spiralling interest rates are they going to borrow from the market? As recently as three-four days back, the market lifted money at 48 per cent. People are lifting money at this huge rate. It is terrifying. I am not an economist. I do not understand this. I am not saying this. This is what I find when I come across reports which have been given by the Government itself.

When these borrowings are done at such phenomenal rates, the problem becomes ours. We cannot wish this away. Some of these borrowings are done outside; money is borrowed in dollars. Of course, there are some smart people who manage to keep this discrepancy down to the minimum and trade smartly. But if you are borrowing in dollars and the receivables are in rupees your payment is in rupees, but borrowing is in dollars there is a yawning chasm which one has to look into.

Therefore, Sir, I am worried. I hope the Finance Minister would take time off to convince me that I do not have to be worried.

I wish to draw the attention of the Finance Minister to various other factors. Sir, how much time do I have?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MD. SALIM): You have another five minutes to conclude.

SHRIMATI RENUKA CHOWDHURY: But Sir, I have got two other Members from my party.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MD. SALIM): We have to conclude this today. We are strictly following the time.

SHRIMATI RENUKA CHOWDHURY: There are not many speakers. Why can't we have some more time allotted for this?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MD. SALIM): If you want to conclude now, please conclude. Otherwise, you have another five minutes to conclude.

SHRIMATI RENUKA CHOWDHURY: I wanted to touch upon one or two points more. In that case I would be eating into the time of my colleagues. Therefore, I would conclude with this word of judicious caution. There was the initial euphoria on the Budget. Every-

body welcomed it. Of course, there are a plenty of things for which the Minister can take credit. I do not mean 'credit' in terms of borrowing, interest rate, etc. But the Finance Minister may get up and have a vow for this. This is one area of growing concern to which he would have to apply his mind.

Thank you very much.

श्री मूलचन्द मीणा (राजस्थान): उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, संसद् के अंदर हर साल बजट पेश होता है। अब की बार भी मंत्री जी ने बड़े सोच-समझ कर कि लोग समझ नहीं पाएं और इस प्रकार से बजट की भाषा को, इस प्रकार से बजट का एलोकेशन जो किया बजट के अंदर गरीब को तो बिल्कुल ही छोड़ दिया गया और उसको इस बजट से कोई फायदा होने वाला नहीं है। यह बजट केवल हिन्दुस्तान में मेहनत करने वाले आदमी को भी इसमें छोड़ दिया गया है। यह बजट केवल उद्योगपतियों के लिए, व्यापारियों के लिए, कारपोरेटर हाऊस चलाने वाले लोगों के लिए लाभदायक बजट इस गवर्नमेंट ने पेश किया है। हिन्दुस्तान के अंदर जितने गरीब लोग जो तादाद में रहते हैं उसको देखा जाए तो उनकी भावना को, उनके दुख दर्द को देखते हैं तो यह बजट कहीं भी उनके दुख दर्द, उनकी भावना के अनुसार नहीं पेश किया गया, नहीं बनाया गया। बजट के अंदर उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, सरकार ने उन प्रश्नों की ओर भी ध्यान नहीं दिया जो पिछली सरकार के 1996-97 के बजट के अंदर आर्थिक समीक्षा जो की गई और उसमें जो प्रश्न सामने आए उन प्रश्नों की ओर भी इस बजट के अंदर ध्यान नहीं दिया गया। इस सरकार के आने के बाद खाद्य पदार्थों के दाम बढ़े और ये दाम 38 परसेंट के करीब बढ़े 8 महीने के अंदर, लेकिन सरकार ने इस बजट के माध्यम से जो खाद्य पदार्थों के दामों की बढ़ोत्तरी हुई उसको कम करने के लिए इस बजट के अंदर कोई प्रावधान नहीं किया गया जिससे कि खाद्यान्नों के दाम कम हो सकें। जो इस महंगाई के जमाने में, जिस प्रकार से यह महंगाई बढ़ रही है उसको रोकने के लिए कोई कदम उठाए जा सकें, ऐसा इस बजट के अंदर कहीं भी देखने को नहीं मिलता है। यह आशा की जाती थी कि बजट के आने के बाद कीमतों में जो वृद्धि हुई है वह कम होगी, महंगाई पर रोक लगेगी, लेकिन ऐसा नहीं हुआ। बजट पेश होने के बाद महंगाई का परिमाण ऊपर चढ़ता हुआ है। इस सरकार के बजट का महंगाई पर जो असर हुआ, रेल बजट में भी इस महंगाई को बढ़ाने के लिए इस देश के लोगों के ऊपर भार डाला है। इस बजट के अंदर 300 करोड़ रुपये पोस्ट और तार खाते पर जो वज़न पड़ने वाला है, यह बढ़ाया। इसका असर आम नागरिक पर होने वाला है क्योंकि पोस्ट कार्ड और टेलीग्राम आम नागरिक का एक संचार का एक साधन है। पोस्टल और टेलीग्राम के ऊपर जो पैसा बढ़ाया गया है इससे पूंजीपति, उद्योगपति उन पर कोई असर होने वाला नहीं है, लेकिन आम नागरिक इससे जुड़ा हुआ है, आम नागरिक पर इसका असर होने वाला है।

वेतन आयोग की सिफारिश के लिए 7 करोड़ रुपए रखे गए हैं, लेकिन इस वेतन आयोग की रिपोर्ट के अंदर विसंगतियां है। इस रिपोर्ट को देखने के बाद यह लगा कि शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट्स और शेड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स का जितना बैकलॉग है उसे छोड़ दिया जाए और उन नौकरियों को खत्म कर दिया जाए। महोदय, मैं चाहता हूं कि यह वेतन आयोग लागू करने से पहले शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट्स और शेड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स के हितों का विचार होना चाहिए, उस बारे में चर्चा होनी चाहिए। उन के हितों के साथ खिलवाड़ नहीं होना चाहिए। अभी जो बजट एलोकेशन किया गया है, उस में शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट्स और शेड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स के बैकलॉग को खत्म न कर के उस को भरने की बात की जानी चाहिए। महोदय, मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि वेतन आयोग या कोई भी आयोग इस देश के अंदर बने, उस में शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट्स और शेड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स की संख्या और उन के हितों का ध्यान रखते हुए एक शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट और शेड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स का प्रतिनिधि जरूर होना चाहिए। अब इस वेतन आयोग में यह रखा गया था या नहीं, यह मैं नहीं जानता, लेकिन कोई भी आयोग बने, उस में एक प्रतिनिधि शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट/शेड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स का जरूर होना चाहिए।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, बजट में विकास के जो अनुमान लगाए गए हैं, वह अतिरंजित और अयथार्थवादी हैं। सरकार के अनुसार जी०डी०पी० ग्रोथ 7 प्रतिशत अनुमानित है। इस में उद्योग में 10 प्रतिशत, कृषि में साढ़े 3 प्रतिशत और सर्विसेस में 8 प्रतिशत वृद्धि का अनुमान है। महदोय, हम सब चाहेंगे कि देश का विकास तेज गति से हो, लेकिन बजट के अंदर जो प्रावधान रखा गया है, उस से ऐसा नहीं लगता कि देश का विकास तेज गति से होगा। मुझे आशंका है कि पूर्व में जो विकास की गति थी, वह उसी रूप में चल पाएगी। इसलिए इस बजट में संशोधन कर के देश के विकास के लिए और पैसा रखा जाए जिस से कि देश

के विकास की गति द्रुत हो सके और उस में रोड़े न आएं, इस प्रकार का प्रावधान इस बजट में किया जाना चाहिए।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, यहां में देश के अंदर महसूस की जा रही बिजली की कमी की चर्चा करना चाहूंगा। महोदय, यह देश कृषि प्रधान देश है और कृषि के लिए हमें आसमान की ओर देखना पड़ता है। अगर अच्छा पानी बरसा तो अच्छी फसल हो जाती है और अगर बारिस नहीं होती तो सूखा और अकाल पड़ जाता है। इसलिए खेतों में पानी देने के लिए आज देश में बिजली एक महत्वपूर्ण साधन है। इस का बहुत बड़ा योगदान है और इस के लिए बिजली का उत्पादन बढ़ाया जाना बहुत आवश्यक है। महोदय, एक समय था जब देश के अंदर हरित क्रांति का नारा देकर अनाज पैदा किया जाता था और हम दूसरे देशों को गेहूं का एक्सपोर्ट करते थे, लेकिन बढ़ते हुए जनसंख्या के भार ने आज यह स्थिति पैदा कर दी है कि हम को अनाज बाहर से मंगाना पड़ता है। महोदय, अगर आज देश में बिजली के उत्पादन पर नजर डाली जाए तो हमें 40 हजार मेगावाट बिजली की आवश्यकता और होती है। इस में से 30 हजार मेगावाट की आवश्यकता पब्लिक सेक्टर में काम के लिए होगी। महोदय, हम ने पिछली पंचवर्षीय योजना के अंदर बिजली का उत्पादन बढ़ाने के लिए कई राज्यों को बिजली उत्पादन के संयंत्रों को लगाने की स्वतंत्रता दी। उन को कहा गया कि आप किसी से मिलकर संयंत्र लगवा सकते हैं। उन्हें छूट दी गयीं, लेकिन उस का परिणाम कुछ नहीं निकला। पब्लिक सैक्टर में 30,000 मेगावाट के लिए हमको पांच वर्ष में 1,50,000 करोड़ की लागत की जरूरत होगी। इसका अर्थ कि प्रतिवर्ष हमें 30,000 करोड़ रुपया चाहिए, आपने बजट में रखा है 700 करोड़ रुपया। मैं नहीं समझता कि कैसे बिजली का उत्पादन बढ़ेगा। हिन्दुस्तान में बिजली का विकास किए बिना कैसे आप एग्रीकल्चर में, इण्डस्ट्री में उत्पादन बढ़ाना चाहते हैं? क्या यह पैसा 700 करोड़ रुपया जो आप 30,000 करोड़ के बदले ला रहे हैं, उससे बिजली का उत्पादन बढ़ेगा? और पैसा राज्य सरकार तो दे नहीं सकेगी, तो आप विदेशी निवेशकों को इस बिजली के उत्पादन में लाना चाहेंगे? मैं समझता हूं कि बिजली के उत्पादन के लिए जो पैसा आपने एलोकेट किया है, वह कम है और इसको बढ़ाया जाना चाहिए ताकि लोगों को इन्डस्ट्री में और किसानों को खेती का उत्पादन बढ़ाने के लिए बिजली समय पर मिल सके, पूर्णरूपेण मिल सके।

महोदय, सरकार ने गरीबों को सस्ती दर पर अनाज देने के लिए 8000 करोड़ रुपए खर्च करने की योजना बनाई है, लेकिन जिस तरीके से सरकार की यह योजना है और जिस तरीके से आज गरीबों के विकास के लिए पैसा दिया जाता है, उससे लगता नहीं कि आपकी यह योजना सफल होगी। आप जानते ही हैं, इस देश के ज्यादातर लोग गांव में रहते हैं। गांव के विकास के लिए केन्द्र सरकार ने जो योजनाएं चला रखी हैं, उन योजनाओं को चलाने के लिए जिस प्रकार का प्रशासन है, जिस प्रकार का प्रशासनिक ढांचा है, उसमें करप्शन की बात आती है। इसलिए मुझे नहीं लगता कि गरीबों को सस्ती दर पर यह अनाज मिल सकेगा। राजीव गांधी जी आज हमारे बीच में नहीं हैं, लेकिन ऐसे अवसर पर याद आते हैं। उन्होंने कहा था कि गांव के लिए हम यहां से अगर एक रुपया भेजते हैं तो जाकर 15 पैसे गांव के विकास पर खर्च होते हैं, बाकी का पैसा रास्ते में ही करप्शन के माध्यम से लोगों की जेबों में चला जाता है। आपने योजनाएं तो गरीबों के लिए लागू की हैं, गरीब को अनाज देने के लिए योजना लागू की है, लेकिन इसकी समीक्षा के लिए या इसकी निगरानी के लिए जब तक सरकार कोई ऐसा संकल्प या इस प्रकार की निगरानी संस्था नहीं बनाती या ऐसी संस्था को निगरानी का काम नहीं देती तब तक लगता नहीं कि गरीबों को सस्ती दर पर अनाज मिल पाएगा। आज क्या हो रहा है? आप देखिए, व्यावहारिक रूप में यह हो रहा है, आपने पिछले महीने में जो गेहूं गरीबों को उपलब्ध कराने के लिए भेजा, मुझे लगता है कि उसमें से 70/75 परसेंट तो जो लीडर थे या सस्ती दर की दुकानों के दुकानदार थे, उन्होंने उसे अलग से बेच दिया, पब्लिक में तो बंटा ही नहीं। इसलिए मेरा कहना है कि इस पर रोक लगाने के लिए आपको संस्था नियुक्त करने की आवश्यकता है। महोदय, जहां तक रोजगार का सवाल है, इस सरकार की नीतियों और बजट में कहीं दिखाई नहीं देता कि देश में रोजगार बढ़ेगा, जितने रोजगार की आवश्यकत है उसकी पूर्ति हो पाएगी, रोजगार के साधन लोगों को मिल सकेंगे, लोगों को रोजगार मिल पाएंगे। ऐसा लगता नहीं है कि इस बजट से यह संभव होने वाला है। आठवीं पंचवर्षीय योजना में 1991 और 2000 के बीच के काल के लिए 100 मिलियन रोजगार की रचना का अनुमान लगाया गया था यानि इसका अर्थ था कि 10 मिलियन लोगों को प्रत्येक वर्ष रोजगार मिलेगा। लेकिन पिछले 6 सालों में यह देखा गया है कि दस मिलियन लोगों को रोजगार देना तो दूर रहा, 6 मिलियन लोगों को भी रोजगार

उपलब्ध नहीं हो पाया। तो मुझे लगता है कि जो अनुमान था, योजना के अनुसार जो अनुमान तथा हमारा, वह पूरा हो पाएगा। बचे हुए कुछ सालों के अंदर हम 12 से 15 मिलियन लोगों को रोजगार कैसे उपलब्ध करा पाएंगे, कैसे हम इतने लोगों को रोजगार दे पाएंगे? यह असंभव लगता है। इसलिए मैं यह चाहूंगा कि हिन्दुस्तान के गांवों के गरीब लोगों को ज्यादा से ज्यादा रोजगार देने के लिए योजना के अनुसार इस पर जितना पैसा खर्च होना चाहिए, वह आप खर्च करें जिससे लोगों को रोजगार देने के संबंध में जो हमने 1991 में अनुमान लगाया था, वह पूरा हो सके।

शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में 3,388 करोड़ रुपए की जगह 2,574 करोड़ रुपए हमने रखे हैं। ग्रामीण विकास पर 2,195 की जगह 1,796 करोड़ रुपए रखे गए हैं। गरीबी निवारण के लिए 6,437 करोड़ रुपए रखे गए हैं और यह पूरे भी खर्च नहीं हुए थे पिछले बजट में, पिछले बजट में केवल 5,977 करोड़ रुपए ही खर्च हुए। कृषि और सहकारिता पर भी हमने 1,471 करोड़ रुपए रखे, जिसमें से 1,338 करोड़ रुपए खर्च हुए। सिंचाई और बाढ़ नियंत्रण के लिए, उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि सिंचाई इस देश की बहुत ही बड़ी आवश्यकता है, हमने 1,248 करोड़ रुपए रखे थे लेकिन खर्च केवल 815 करोड़ रुपए ही हुए। तो मुझे ऐसा लगता है कि हम बजट में अनुमान करते हैं, पैसा रखते हैं डेवलपमेंट के लिए, लेकिन वह खर्च होता है या नहीं, इसकी निगरानी के लिए हमारे पास कोई व्यवस्था नहीं है। पिछली बार यह सुझाव आया था कि एक एक्सपेंडिचर कमीशन बनाया जाए जो इस बात का ध्यान रखे कि किस-किस मद में कितना पैसा रखा गया है, किस-किस मद पर कितना पैसा खर्च होना है वह खर्च हो रहा है या नहीं और अगर वह खर्च नहीं हो रहा है तो क्यों नहीं हो रहा है? तो मैं वित्त मंत्री जी से यह कहना चाहूंगा कि एक्सपेंडिचर कमीशन बनाने का जो सुझाव आपके सामने आया है, आप इस पर विचार करके इसे बनाएं, जिससे बजट के अनुसार हम जो अनुमान करते हैं, और कार्य करना चाहते हैं, वह हो सके। बजट का पैसा व्यापक रूप से खर्च हो, जो हम चाहते हैं। हम चाहते हैं कि वह कमीशन बजट के पैसे पर नजर रखे, जिससे किसी प्रकार की कोई गड़बड़ न हो सके।

महोदय, वित्त मंत्री जी ने अपने इस बजट में सामाजिक शिक्षा और ग्रामीण विकास के लिए 23,000 करोड़ रुपए खर्च करने की बात की है। यह पैसा पिछले बजट की बजाए 22 फीसदी ज्यादा है लेकिन मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि आज का हमारा जो प्रशासनिक ढांचा है और जैसा राजनेताओं का सिस्टम है, इस भ्रष्टाचार के सिस्टम के कारण हमें भरोसा नहीं है कि जितना पैसा हमने सामाजिक शिक्षा और ग्रामीण विकास के लिए रखा है, यह पैसा पूरी तरह से इस पर खर्च हो पाएगा। मैं वित्त मंत्री जी से निवेदन करना चाहता हूं कि इस पर विशेष निगरानी रखी जाए। मुझे आश्चर्य होता है, वित्त मंत्री जी, कि आजादी के 50 वर्ष बाद भी हम इस देश के अंदर ठीक तरह से अनुमान नहीं लगा सकते कि कितने लोग गरीबी की रेखा से नीचे हैं, कितने लोगों की हमने गरीबी दूर की है? गरीबी की जो समीक्षा पहले की गई थी, उसमें गरीबी का परसेंट बढ़ा है।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री मोहम्मद सलीम): मीणा जी, आपकी पार्टी की लिस्ट में कुछ और लोगों के भी नाम हैं, अतः आप समाप्त कीजिए।

श्री मूलचन्द मीणा: मैं जल्दी ही खत्म कर दूंगा।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, वित्त मंत्री जी ने इस बजट के अंदर बहुराष्ट्रीय कंपनियों का और बड़े उद्योग घरानों का बहुत ध्यान रखा है लेकिन लघु उद्योगों और छोटे उद्योगों की ओर मंत्री जी का ध्यान नहीं गया है जब कि छोटे उद्योग और लघु उद्योग हमारे रोजगार के मुख्य साधन है। जब तक हम छोटे उद्योगों और लघु उद्योगों को पूर्ण संरक्षण और सुविधाएं नहीं देंगे तब तक हमारे गांवों के लोगों का विकास नहीं हो पाएगा, हमारे गांवों का विकास नहीं हो पाएगा। इसलिए बहुराष्ट्रीय कंपनियों और बड़े उद्योगों की ओर ध्यान देने के बजाय मंत्री जी को छोटे उद्योगों की ओर ध्यान देना चाहिए, तभी हमारे देश का विकास हो पाएगा। इसलिए मैं मंत्री जी से निवेदन करना चाहूंगा कि आपकी दृष्टि से जो लघु उद्योग छूट गए हैं, उन पर आप दृष्टि डालें, उनको सुविधाएं दे जिससे हिंदुस्तान के गांवों का विकास हो सके और हिंदुस्तान के गांवों में रहने वाले लोगों का विकास हो सके। महोदय, ये बहुराष्ट्रीय कंपनियों और बड़े उद्योग धंधे वाले लोग पैसा कमाकर अपने देश को चले जाएंगे लेकिन इससे यहां के लोगों का विकास नहीं होगा। इसलिए लघु उद्योगों की ओर आपको विशेष ध्यान देना चाहिए।

महोदय, बजट में फर्टिलाइज़र पर सब्सिडी देने की बात कही गई है। इस पर पिछले साल भी आपने सब्सिडी दी थी लेकिन उस सब्सिडी का लाभ किसको मिला? या तो लाभ मिला उन उद्योगों को जो फर्टिलाइज़र तैयार करते है या लाभ मिला बड़े किसानों को। छोटे किसानों को इसका लाभ नहीं मिला। अतः

फर्टिलाइज़र सब्सिडी का लाभ सीधे किसानों को मिले, छोटे किसान उसका लाभ उठाएं, इस प्रकार की व्यवस्था आपको करनी चाहिए। फर्टिलाइज़र तैयार करने वाले उद्योगों को इस सब्सिडी का लाभ डायरेक्टली न दिया जाए। पिछले साल आपने फर्टिलाइज़र पर जो सब्सिडी दी, उसका लाभ किसानों को नहीं मिला, यह हमने देखा है। यदि आप किसान को लाभ पहुंचाना चाहते है तो किसान को वह डायरेक्टली मिलना चाहिए। सब्सिडी जो दी गई है वह किसान को दी गई है। इसलिए जितने भी छोटे किसान है, उनको इसका लाभ मिलना चाहिए। इसलिए आप व्यवस्था कीजिए कि किसान को डायरेक्ट सब्सिडी मिले। महोदय, मैं वित्त मंत्री जी का ध्यान शैड्यूल्ड कास्ट्स और शैड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्ज की ओर भी दिलाना चाहूंगा। महोदय, इनके विकास के लिए इस बजट के अंदर 1800 करोड़ रुपए की व्यवस्था वित्त मंत्री जी ने की है। यह शायद इस साल के बजट का 2 प्रतिशत भी नहीं होगा। लेकिन एस०सी० / एस०टी० लोगों के विकास के लिए, उनके रोजगार के लिए, उनके रोटी-कपड़ा-मकान की व्यवस्था के लिए जो पैसा दिया जाता है, उनको पूर्णरूपेण उसका लाभ नहीं मिलता है। केन्द्र सरकार की कई योजनाओं में जैसे आई० आर०डी०पी०, जवाहर रोजगार योजना आदि के अंतर्गत इन लोगों के लिए व्यवस्था की गई है लेकिन इसका पूरा लाभ उन लोगों को नहीं मिलता है बल्कि उसका लाभ सरकारी अधिकारियों और कर्मचारियों की जेबों में चला जाता है और उसके बारे में उस गरीब को पता तक नहीं लगता। जो ब्लाक के प्रतिनिधि है, उनको वह सब्सिडी उपलब्ध होती है। मंत्री जी इस बात को जानते हैं। मंत्री जी भी एक लोकसभा कांस्टीट्युऐंसी से चुनकर आए है। ये जानते है कि कितना गरीबों को एस०सी० / एस०टी० के लोगों को मिलता है। लेकिन कर नहीं सकते। क्यों नहीं कर सकते करनी चाहिए आपको यह व्यवस्था। आज केन्द्र सरकार की जो योजनाएं गरीबों के लाभ के लिए, उनके विकास के लिए है उनको सही प्रकार कार्यान्वित क्यों नहीं किया जा रहा है। इसके लिए मंत्री जी, आपको विशेष ध्यान देने की आवश्यकता है। मैं यह भी निवेदन करना चाहूंगा वित्त मंत्री जी से कि शैड्यूल्ड कास्ट और शैड्यूल्ड ट्राईब्स के लोग तो बहुत दयनीय परिवारों के लोग है। आपके वित्त मंत्रालय के अंदर भी यह स्थिति है कि उनकी सी०आर० वह लोग भरते हैं जो जनरल कास्ट के लोग होते हैं। उनकी सी०आर० पहले तो अच्छी नहीं भरी जाती और अगर भरी जाती है तो प्रमोशन नहीं दिया जाता। इनमें जो योग्य अधिकारी होते है, जिनकी इमेज भी अच्छी होती है उनको भी अच्छी पोस्टिंग नहीं देते हैं, उनको अच्छी जगह नहीं लगाते हैं, क्योंकि उनका कोई प्रतिनिधि है नहीं। मैं वित्त मंत्रालय की बात करना चाहूंगा। जो भी वहां प्रमोशन कमेटी है उसमें एक शैड्यूल्ड कास्ट और एक शैड्यूल्ड ट्राईब्स का अधिकारी, कर्मचारी जरूर रखें जिससे उनके साथ होने वाला अन्याय तथा जो बैकलाग है उसके नहीं भरने के कारणों का पता चल सके और लोगों को न्याय मिल सके। माननीय मंत्री जी ने जो बजट पेश किया और इसके अंदर जो इस देश के गरीबों के विकास के लिए जो कमियां रही है मैं यह चाहूंगा कि उन्हें पूरा करने के लिए आप उसमें ज्यादा पैसे की व्यवस्था करें जिससे गरीबों का भी विकास हो, देश का भी विकास हो, यही मैं इस मौके पर कहना चाहूंगा। धन्यवाद।

SHRI SANJAY DALMIA (Uttar Pradesh): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir I will confine myself to some suggestions in some areas. In the industrial community and in the trading community there were three known nationalities earlier. They were Indians, Chinese and Jews. I am talking of good old days. Then the deterioration started. But one thing which was very commendable was that whenever people started going out, as there was no opportunity in India, they went without any penny in their pocket. They established themselves in business, trade and commerce. It is very commendable that today these non-resident Indians have billions and billions of dollars at their command and a part of it has been coming to India also. But it has not been coming in the quantity which we would like it to come. Our Government's aim for the next few years is to attract foreign direct investment to the tune of US $10 billions. It is a very ambitious figure. Considering the past when the trickle has been US $1 billion or US $2 billions, the figure of US $10 billions is a very ambitious figure. But at the same time it is not a difficult figure to achieve.

Because both NRIs and foreign investors have confidence in the present set up, the present Government. I have been told that in the UK alone NRIs have invested fifty billion dollars in the stock market

and other capital markets. If you take the real estate, there may be another ten to 15 billion dollars. If you take the whole of Europe, the total investment may come to eighty to ninety billion US dollars. This is the money at their command. If you take the North America which includes Canada, my estimate is, it will come to US $ 150 billion. This is a very good amount of money which these people command. Even if they invest a part of it in India, anything from five to ten billion dollars, we will have a tremendous bargaining power. China attracts an investment to the tune of thirty-five to forty billion US dollars every year. But most of it comes from overseas Chinese from Taiwan, Hongkong and other places. That is why they have a very good bargaining power. They can attract direct investments from non-Chinese sources on the terms which are mutually acceptable to both the parties. Because of this bargaining power they are able to get better terms. This is a very common phenomenon in any business or in any situation that if you have a good bargaining power, you can get better terms in any deal whatsoever. I think the time is ripe now when instead of NRIs putting their money only in banks, if we are able to convince them to put their money in the industrial sector in India, it will have two advantages. I am not interested in five billions or ten billions coming from four or five parties. I think these five billions should come from hundreds of thousands of NRIs scattered all over the world. The first advantage would be, they will invest in the Indian companies, but they will not have any real interest in managing those companies. They would be happy if they get a decent return on their capital. This is what we must ensure. They must be able to get a better return than what they are getting today. If we are able to give some kind of a promotor's assurance to NRI investors that the minimum return they will get in the next two to three years would be more than what they have been getting, say 14 or 15 per cent, I think this would be a good beginning. Today the laws do not permit giving an assured return to any investor. But if an exception can be made only for NRI investors, it would be a good gesture for attracting investment.

SHRI SURINDER KUMAR SINGLA: How can you do that?

SHRI SANJAY DALMIA: Till yesterday, you had different rate of taxation for NRIs and foreign investors which the hon. Finance Minister had equalised this time. The point I was making this. This would be an incentive for them to invest in India. When so many people, hundreds of thousands of NRIs would invest in India, the chances of this money ever going out would be very minimal. Today the total FII investment in the Indian stock market is something like seven to eight billion US dollors. The total capitalisation of the Indian stock market is to the tune of 150 billion US dollors. It means that something like five to six per cent of the capital is held by these FIIs. Now this money is not something which is going to be here for all times to come. It may remain here for one year, for two years or for three years. It can go back. Whenever there is a better opportunity outside the Indian stock market, this money can go there. It can travel from India in a day, a week or a month. With NRIs, we share a different relationship. We share an emotional relationship with the NRIs. I personally feel that there are better chances for this money to be retained in India as compared to pure foreign investment. That is why, my view is that NRI money would be a better protection from the Indian point of view as against money invested by a foreigner. That does not mean that we should not have foreign investment. We must have foreign investment because that is the only way we can get capital for investing in various projects which we have undertaken, specially in the field of infrastructure. I understand that it is not possible for us to limit foreign investment only in infrastructure. In this Budget, the invest-

ment in infrastructure had been made, from the taxation point of view, reasonably attractive. I am sure this will bring in and it should bring in more and more investment, whether from NRIs or from foreign investors But I have my reservations on foreign investment in our consumer goods sector.

I will give two examples. I am told that the bulb industry is controlled by two foreign companies and there is no Indian company in the field. These two companies are General Electric and Philips. Now bulb industry is not a strategic industry that way. But still the control of the bulb industry, 100 per cent, by two foreign companies, is something with which I do not feel very comfortable. I think there should be a mix—some foreign investment and some Indian investment. I was telling you that the total capitalisation of the Indian stock market is 150 billion US dollors. Today, they are allowed to invest upto 30 per cent in our stock market. That is a substantial amount of money which will be coming in. But that would also mean that a lot of companies would probably go out of Indian hands into foreign hands. If it goes into the hands of an NRI, I don't feel that much threatened. But if that big a volume of Indian companies goes into foreign hands, I feel a little threatened. The second example is of the soft drinks industry. We are doing very well in soft drinks still a few years back. After 1977, there was no Coca Cola or Pepsi Cola. We had our Thumps Up and Campa Cola. They were doing very well. Ninety to ninety-nine per cent of the people were not able to make out the difference. But today, what has happened? Thums Up and Campa Cola have gone out of the market. These are some of the possibilities. Almost all the developing countries face this problem. If it is an NRI investing, I feel much more safe. We should not allow any industry to be owned 100 per cent by a foreign company. Coming to the deficit in the Oil Pool Account, I have certain suggestions to make. The deficit is to the tune of Rs. 16,000-17,000 crores and it is increasing every year because for the last many years, barring this Government which effected a small increase in the prices of the petroleum products, there was no increase. The result is that a huge deficit in the Oil Pool Account took place. The point is that if you increase the prices to finish off the oil pool deficit, it would mean a very sharp increase in the prices of petroleum products. The States are also increasing the sales tax rates. Yesterday the Delhi Government increased the sales tax on petrol and diesel. With all these things, there will be a very high increase in the prices of the petroleum products. I have a suggestion, and I don't know how far it is feasible. But I personally feel that if we can have a levy on some of the vehicles—automobile industry is the main consumer of petroleum products—if we can have a levy called petroleum levy, I think we can earn a lot of money. We can cover up the dificit in the Oil Pool Account. According to my figures, we have about 6,00,000 jeeps. Trucks and buses. We have about 2.4 million cars. We have about 2 million trucks and buses. We have about 20 million two-wheelers. We have about 1.2 million three-wheelers. There are about 2.4 million cars. Suppose we charge a 10 per cent levy, we will get Rs. 2,400 crores. This is only a rough figure. Today the cost of a car is in the range of 200-300 thousands. So, this 10% levy would represent three-five per cent of the cost. Similarly, in the case of two-wheelers, there are about 20 million two-wheelers in the country. If you charge Rs. 3,000/- per vehicle as petroleum levy, you would get about Rs. 6,000 crores. The cost of a two-wheeler is in the range of 20-25 thousands. The levy of Rs. 3,000/- may be 12% of the total cost. We can adjust the figure the way we like. But I personally feel that this would certainly save the rise in the prices of petroleum products because any rise in the prices of petroleum products will increase the transport cost of goods and

service throughout the country. It would definitely give rise to the inflationary forces because recently we have imposed a five per cent service tax on the road transport industry. Even the Railways has increased the fare and freight rates. So, any increase in the prices of the petroleum products will definitely push the prices up all over the country. The price of everything will get increased. This levy, the petroleum levy, is going to affect not more than 20 million people. The question is about the choice. Who has to pay for making up the deficit in the Oil Pool Account—20 million people or 900 million people? If we can have a levy like the petroleum levy, we can, for some time to come, get rid of the deficit in the Oil Pool Account without increasing the prices of the petroleum products.

THE VICE CHAIRMAN (SHRI MD. SALIM): Mr. Dalmia, you have one more minute to conclude.

SHRI SANJAY DALMIA: Sir, I have two more suggestions to make. Firstly, the Indian ports are small and they take a lot of time for loading and unloading of the vessels. I will give you one example. The freight rate from Europe to India is higher than the freight rate from Europe to Singapore. This is absolutely absurd. Why should the freight rate between Europe and India be more than the freight rate between Europe and Singapore? The reasons is simple. Our ports are smaller. We are not able to handle large-sized ships and, secondly, we are not able to clear the vessels, we are not able to do loading and unloading in a short period. It takes about 10, 15 or 20 days to unload a vessel.

SHRI VAYALAR RAVI (Kerala): No, no. do you know that the Nheva Sheva port is hungry for ships. There are no ships available there and the berths are lying free. It is not correct.

SHRI SANJAY DALMIA: I don't know specifically about one port. But if you have larger ports which can clear the vessels faster, your freight rates will go down and if your freight rates go down, your import and export will benefit both ways, which means I can charge higher price for my exports because my freight rates will be lower and also my imports will be lower because my freight rates will be lower. So, we will benefit both ways. I do not know whether a study has been done or not. but it is worthwhile to make a study as to what the total amount of money that we will have to spend to make the ports internationally cost effective, and what the savings will be. My own calculation says that the pay-back will not take more than four to five years. It is a question of attracting capital. But once we are able to give the figures, there will be people who will be willing to put their money because the pay-back period is four to five year which is a good pay-back period. My last point is about some of the provisions that have been made under the National Social assistance Programme which includes the Natioanl Maternity Benefit Scheme for pre-natal and post-natal benefits for expectant mothers. The outlay for this has been reduced for Rs. 932 crores to Rs. 700 crores. In the normal circumstance if you take into consideration the inflation, it should have been at least doubled. I would request the finance Minister to kindly consider this. Similarly, in the case of the Indira Awas Yojna, the figures are the same. It was Rs. 1,190/- crores earlier and this year also it is the same. If nothing else, at least the effect of inflation should be neutralised and it should be increased. Similar is the case with the employment Assurance Scheme. the figures are again the same. In the case of the Million Wells Scheme, it is again the same. So, these are the allocations that have been made in the social sector. I request the hon. finance Minister to increase the allocation here, at least to the extent of the rate of inflation, if not more. These are some of my suggestions. thank you very much for giving me time to present my views.

SHRI N. GIRI PRASAD (Andhra

Pradesh): Mr. Vice- Chairman, Sir, first of all I would like to congratulate the United Front Government and particularly the finance Minister for the presentation of the second Budget because at the time of introduction of the first Budget people were apprehensive whether this Government would survive that long. But that misgiving, that doubt, proved to be wrong. And this is the occasion for the hon. finance Minister to present a full-fledged Budget. That is why even the very fact of presenting the second budget goes to show that there is stability in the system and in the working of the United Front Government and its governance.

My second observation is that the Finance Ministry has been very candid in bringing out the correct scenario on the economic front. I am especially gratified to note the positive side that he has analysed on pages 3 and 4 of his speech. He analysed all the positive sides. "Continued high economic growth at 6.8%. A strong recovery of growth in agriculture.....Increase in foodgrains production. Manufacturing sector growth at 10.6% and a sizeable build-up in our foreign currency reserves..." At the same time, he also mentioned certain negative features. They are true. ".....sharp drop in domestic crude oil production and the sluggish performance of the power sector-.....deceleration in the growth of exports, a rise in the rate of inflation..." An hon. Member said that the finance Minister did not mention about inflation in his speech. The Finance Minister's speech also indicated that there is a growth in the rate of inflation. So, against this background, this second Budget of this Government tried to analyse not only the achievements and negative sides in the economic situation, but also to improve the system and to provide better results to the people and the economy. After all, our country is suffering from many maladies, particularly poverty. According to the latest indications almost 40 per cent of our population lives below the poverty line. If that is so, how can we eradicate this poverty and consequential other sufferings of the people? We also have to take our country forward, to the forefront of developed countries. Our neighbour, China is fast advancing and we cannot afford to be backward and lag behind such countries. So, it is our duty to develop the economy to make our country rich and prosperous and also strong in all respects. That is why the common Minimum Programme of the United Front has rightly set the goal before the nation. The goal of the United Front and the Common Minimum Programme of this Government is 'growth with justice'. So, we want growth and also justice. How can this be achieved? It can be achieved through budgetary mechanism and through various policies to be adopted by the Government. I think this is a matter of details and it has to be worked out. If the aims of the Parliament, not only the United Front parties, if they feel that this is a correct aim before the country, than they should co-operate with the Government in this endeavour. Whenever the people want another election, that is a different matter, but until then, this system must be allowed to function normally with this perspective in mind.

Sir, in the last few years, our country has been facing many problems, especially on the issue of corruption, social conflicts and religious or communal conflicts. I think, these should become a part of history. So, the country must be allowed to proceed normally and towards achieving the aim of growth with justice.

My third point is though the finance Minister is able to collect sufficient revenues, at least as far as his expectation goes, and though the revised Estimates proved that there are some resources unmobilised—there may be some variations in the details—as was pointed out by Shri Pranab Mukherjee, there is a big gap in the Central Plan Outlay. Perhaps, this was provided mostly by extra budgetary or internal resources of public sector units. But the amount spent for the Plan

Outlay was less by Rs. 10,000 crores though this Government largely kept its word to provide Budgetary support, at least as promised in the budget estimates. But, Sir, the biggest casualty is the power sector, the energy sector. almost 50 per cent of this Rs. 10,000 crores was concerned with the power sector. That is why in his budget Speech, the finance Minister has also indicated the sluggish growth in power sector and also fall in the petroleum products. Perhaps the Government is unable to spend that money or could not mobilise that money. even the Prime Minister has said recently—I read it is some newspaper—that infrastructure was top on the agenda of the Government. If that is so, why was this lapse, this weakness, allowed with regard to this fund? I think the hon. Finance Minister will be able to analyse this so that in the coming year this lapse is eliminated and this infrastructure, particularly the power sector, gets due attention and due involvement in the provision of this fund. Another point is with regard to social sector which also got a beating in terms of spending. According to some calculations, eleven per cent of these funds were provided for this sector. As we know, our country is facing the problem of illiteracy, lack of drinking water, malnutrition, health and many other things. the funds for them have been reduced to seven per cent. There was a shortfall of Rs. 800 crores in educational sector. I am not sure whether it has been done to reduce the fiscal deficit or to keep the fiscal deficit at the promised level or there are any problems in the execution because in certain things the state Governments are to be involved. If there any serious lapses on their part those have to be attended to. These lapses should not be allowed to recur in the coming period. Sir, with regard to this Budget, people from the Congress side and the BJP side are accusing that this budget is pro-rich and this Government is pro-rich. Of course, I cannot say that there are no pro-rich elements in this budget. But, I do not believe that it is an anti-poor budget. I cannot say that. This Budget tries to attend to the problem of poverty, social welfare and many other aspects of development .....*(Interruptions)*.....It may be. It can be analysed in that way also. they should accuse the Government only when it follows anti-poor policies. .....*(Interruptions)*.....They are quite different issues because the Government is under the impression .....*(Interruptions)*..... The Government is faced with an ideological problem. Some people believe that by helping the rich, by pampering the rich, especially the corporate sector, capitalist class, everything can flourish and they can produce wealth. sir, the capitalist class in the country at least does not behave in a responsible way. that is what I understand.....*(Interruptions)*.....

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MD. SALIM): But you have two minutes .....*(Interruptions)*..... Please conclude.

SHRI N. GIRI PRASAD: If you want me to sit down, I can do so. .....*(Interruptions)*..... I am not a man who .....*(Interruptions)*.....It is up to you, Sir. When you want me to stop, please just informs me. As far as I am concerned, there is no problem .....*(Interruptions)*.....sir, one data bank Organisation analyses how public equity issues and how corporate sector are behaving in our country. Sir, this budget has also put a lot of faith in them. That is why some people are accusing it. But, the Government should also understand the nature of our people, then only will they be able to understand this and tighten them up. What is the fate of 3872 euiqty issues? Sir, 205 issues are not traded at all in the market. They have almost disappeared and 2987 issues were quoted below the offered prices. The people who invested in these shares have lost their money. This is 77 per cent. Only 611 traded above the offer price. when this is the position, how can the small inves-

tors—even the big investors, for that matter—have confidence in this type of a capital market? They may have their own money. I have no objection. but it is a loss to the nation.

Then, the Government not this Government it relates to the earlier period—allows people to loot the country. take, for example, the ITC. This company was found quilty of misdeclaration of retail prices of its products, from March, 1983, to Februrary, 1987. The amount involved was Rs. 800 crores. Just one company. It has been doing this for three-four years. On adjudication, no order was passed at that time on recovering the interest which, calculated at the normal interest rate, amounted to Rs. 1630 crores. One company siphoned away Rs. 800 crores, plus Rs. 1600 add crore of interest. There is no check. There is no machinery. we allow one company to loot the country of bout Rs. 2,500 crores.

This budget has also given so many concessions. There have been many give-aways. Here, I would request the hon. Minister to consider, at least, one or two aspects. Of course, all these give-aways are meant to boost the bottomline of these companies. at the same time, they should not be allowed to siphon away funds that are due to the Government. Moreover, even when you allow these concessions in customs duty excise duty and corporate tax, they do not pass on the benefit to the people. they corner it away. further, these concessions do not also help these companies to be competitive. This is what I understand (Timebell)

In this background, Sir, these people must be strictly disciplined so that they pay the taxes due to the Government. Another point to be noted here is the incidence of tax collection in our country is only to the extent of 14.7 per cent. Therefore, I say that the concessions given to the corporate sector should be reviewed. They should be given concession only to the extent promised by the hon. finance Minister in his last Budget, i.e. removing the surcharge. I have no objection to that. But in regard to the other things, it should be thought of as to how far they can be given these concessions. This point should be gone into.

On the other hand, the small people are not being looked after well; particularly, the working class. workers are retrenched or retired from service. They are denied their dues. for example, in the Jessops Company, 2,392 workers were denied gratuity and provident fund since 1983. Yesterday, I addressed one letter to the hon. Minister of Textiles about the Azamzahi Mills. It is under the NTC. they also did not pay the workers' gratuity, when, statutorily, they are bound to pay it. Gratuity has not been paid from 1988. There is one more example. recently, I got one letter from a small unit. It is a cloth dyeing unit at Sirsilla. They have been brought under excise duty—basic excise duty as well as additional excise duty. It is a small unit. They do not have any machine. Only they dye the cloth and sell it. Out of 105 units, 25 units have already become sick. They use very little power—only 0.5 HP. Even this they are ready to forego. They are ready to do it manually. They cannot get the MODVAT credit also because of their lack of knowledge in this regard. Therefore, I would request the hon. Minister to exempt them from the BED and AED.

This budget proposes to levy a service charge of 5 per cent on the turnover on certain categories of people. I have no objection on this service charge being levied on people like travel agents, shipping agents, etc. They can be taxed. But there are some single-truck owners, small tent-owenrs and others. I think they should be exempted. Or, at least, they could be shown some consideration. These people may be asked to pay taxes, but this service tax should not be insisted upon; they should be exempted from this.

Thank you, Sir.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MD. SALIM): Mr. Peter Alphonse—not present.

Mr. Vayalar Ravi.

SHRI VAYALAR RAVI: Thank you, Mr. Vice-Chairman.

Sir, this Budget introduced by Mr. Chidambaram is a successor of the budgets presented by the Indian National Congress. It is very loyal to the CMP and not to the CPM. Of course, they have to face the wrath of the CPM and the CMP occasionally. Unfortunately, I cannot go along with the philosophy introduced through the Budget....*(Interruptions)*

Sir, before dealing with the details or going in depth, first of all, I have to make it very clear that this country cannot live or survive with a capitalist economy. Unfortunately, the whole thrust of Mr. Chidambaram's Budget is to go away from the concept of the mixed economy and the concept of uplift of the poor through social service, which was the social objective of the State, and to create a profit motivated capitalist economy in this country. Here lies the basic difference that I have with him. He may argue that it began with Congress adopting the Tirupati Resolution. He can argue very well. I express my resentment against or reservation on the Tirupati Resolution. There should be a change. There should be a new agenda. People like me in Congress believe that there should be a new agenda for this nation. Premier political parties have to come forward. Especially, I believe that my party should change its Tirupati approach. This concept is making me disargree with the concept of our thrust to convert this economy into a capitalist economy. You want to throw the 100 crore people to the mercy of profitmongering capitalists. I disagree with you on this. I do not have the time to analyse his approach.

Now, BOP is one of the bases and guides of our economic approach. Here also I have a very strong feeling. Take, for example, liberalisation. Here, the Budget Speech says that modernisation has made an impact on this country. Here the Finance Minister has said that we could make use of the employment opportunity.

Sir, what is happening today? Modernisation is creating more unemployment. Modernisation has come in the name of more exports and capturing new markets all over the world, strengthening the economy and strengthening the balance of payments position. I have just gone through this. This is very relevant. The hon. Minister admits that the important place commanded by India in the world trade in coffee, tea, leather and spices on historical basis continues. Yes, it is true. Here he says:

> "Further there has been a significant progress in export diversion, and India has emerged as an exporter of iron-ore and concentrates and ores, precious and semiprecious stones." Even without liberalisation, this is being continued. Liberalisation was never an advantage to this sector. What happened? You opened the biggest consumer market called "India." The consumer market "India" is bigger than the American consumer market. You have opened this market to multinationals to capture it.

My point is whether India could capture a new market. I believe, we could not capture any new market anywhere in the world. This apart, our share in the world trade is only 0.61 per cent. The share of our export is 0.60% and of our import is 0.63 per cent. He says the developing economies with exports dominated by primary products lost out to developed economies. That is a fact. So, my point is, where have we expanded our exports? We could not capture any new market. He has rightly

said in the Economic Survey that the exports in the traditional items are still growing. Even without liberalisation we continued this. So, in the name of capturing new markets, in the name of expanding our internal reserves, the country has opened up for multi-nationals. The result is that we are facing an unemployment problem. I can give you one or two examples of Kerala. There is a very ambitious project of the Kerala Minerals and Metals Limited. There we are producing Titanium Dioxide. Even Dr. Manmohan Singh had conceded on the excise duty, though it was done after a lot of struggle on their part. We could stop it at a point of 53 per cent. Now, Mr. Chidambaram has reduced it to 40 per cent. The result is that the company's products are not moving and it is almost on the verge of closing down. Another public sector unit belonging to the Government of India, which is a part of the F.A.C.T. is meeting the same fate. So, you are reducing the excise duty to please W.T.O. Of course, my friend Mr. Veerendra Kumar will agree with me, because he is the most vehement critic of the Dunkel Draft and the W.T.O.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE (SHRI M. P. VEERENDRA KUMAR): You criticised me then.

SHRI VAYALAR RAVI: Yes, you are still critical of it.

THE MINISTER OF FINANCE (SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM): Mr. Veerendra Kumar criticised the Dunkel Draft and you criticised him. That means you are a friend of Dunkel.

SHRI VAYALAR RAVI: I was a friend of Mr. Chidambaram at that time. Even today I hold my view, but I am not for surrendering to the W.T.O. The difference between me and Mr. Chidambaram is that he wants to have more of *laissez faire*, but I want to restrict it up to a point.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: Thanks to what I have done as Commerce Minister in our party Government, India's share of world exports, which was 0.4 per cent in 1991, has increased to 0.65 per cent, when I laid down office as Commerce Minister.

SHRI VAYALAR RAVI: But the point is, what items are there. They are the traditional items. It is because of many reasons. Because of time constraint, I do not want to go into them. So, my point is that import is also equally going up. The point which I am stressing is that in the name of modernisation, unemployment is increasing. In Europe, modernisation is successful because of two reasons. One is the climatic condition. This also affects the efficiency of the people. Ours being a tropical country, the efficiency of the people is 80 per cent or even 70 per cent. So, you cannot compare the efficiency of the American or European labour with that of the Indian labour. Secondly the manpower availability in Europe and the United States is very limited and costly. Therefore, they go in for more and more machinery and mechanisation. Unfortunately, I am afraid, our Finance Minister and the successive Finance Ministers have refused to take into account the question of availability of the India labour. In that process whatever income is generated in the country is not going down through the wages to the people at large.

Employment is one of the major areas through which we can distribute the wealth among the people at large. Instead of generating employment, you are creating more unemployment. This is very clear from the resport. Whenever you import machinery, you tag it with spare parts and other items. And when this machinery becomes obsolete, you opt for new technology. Therefore, you have to adopt a new approach on the question of the so-called modernisation which creates unemployment.

I demand that there should be protection to the Indian industry. You should not give protection to the capitalist force. You should give protection to the Indian working force. Now, workers have been thrown out. I will give an example. You take the Ports or the Railways. I admit that it was the policy of the Congress Government to have a reduction of 10 per cent every time. Where is this reduction effected? The reduction comes at the lower level. It is not at the higher level. The expansion of Port also needs mechanisation. For that you borrow money from the World Bank or the Asian Development Bank. Then, what happens? You have to repay the loan with interest. Then, you reduce the work force, reduce everything. When you start repaying the loan, this organisation incurs a loss. So, this kind of philosophy is not going to work.

I do not want to go to the oil deficit. But I want to say something about total deficit on account of import of crude oil. Here, I would like to make one suggestion. The price of imported crude oil has gone up by 40 per cent. For whom? It is my question. Mr. Dalmia was talking about it. I got a paper from him. I have no objection if you produce more trucks and two-wheeler vehicles. But production of Ambassador cars run on diesel should be reduced. It means you are indebted to the foreigners to the extent of $1,500 per car towards import of crude oil. If it is a car run on petrol, then it works out to $3,000. So, for whom are you producing motor cars? The production of cars is 24,00,000. The population of India is 100 crores. The production of motor cars is meant for 24 lakhs of people. This country is indebted to foreign countries on account of import of crude oil. So far as the BOP is concerned, you can't fill the gap. What is the industrial production? The automobile production is more. This area is shown as an area of industrial growth. That calculation would not help because if you take the totality, the industrial production is not growing in a balanced manner. My suggestion is, don't encourage production of motor cars. It would make the Government, more and more indebted to the foreigners because they need $1,500 to $3,000 per car produced per year. So, you have to restrict it. For whom are you making these cars? You are making 100 crores of people more poor for the sake of 24,00,000 people with which I disagree.

So far as agricultural production is concerned, it is going down alarmingly. Somebody quoted the agricultural production of China. The population of China is 120 crores. I have seen a latest report. Their food production is more than 400 million tonnes.

THE MINISTER OF STATE OF THE MINISTRY OF PLANNING AND PROGRAMME IMPLEMENTATION (SHRI YOGENDRA K. ALAGH): They count their rice production in terms of paddy. They include soyabean also in terms of grains. We should discount for that; then, our figures are more comparable.

SHRI VAYALAR RAVI: I have seen a book on "China Today". I have got that book.

DR. BIPLAB DASGUPTA (West Bengal): China's food production is 400 million tonnes on a smaller cultivated land. We have a much bigger cultivated land than China. So, if you go by productivity, China has a much higher productivity than us.

SHRI YOGENDRA K. ALAGH: We are talking about production. We should compare their figures with ours. They follow a different statistical figure. If you convert paddy into rice, then, it would be two-third. As far as our food production is concerned, we need a separate discussion.

SHRI VAYALAR RAVI: My point is for 100 crores of people the food production is 190 million tonnes. China has got

120 crores of people. I have gone through the "China Today". It is some kind of a leaflet. They say it is about 400 million tonnes. There may be some reduction. The people are getting cheap food. That is the main point. The price of food articles is not going up. I don't agree with the new programme of this Government.

The Government has announced in Parliament that they want to have a two-ration-card system. It will go very much against the interests of the poor. For example, in Kerala, there are 70 lakhs of card-holders for statutory ration. The off-take of rice in Kerala is 18 lakh tonnes and that of wheat is six lakh tonnes. The total is 24 lakh tonnes. The Government syas that it will give rice at a reduced price to 15 lakh card-holders. It means that the Government is giving a concession of Rs. 52 crores. Mr. Veerendra Kumar can calculate. It is Rs. 52 crores per year.

SHRI M.P. VEERENDRA KUMAR: When your Government was there, the market price and the ration price were the same.

SHRI VAYALAR RAVI : I will deal with it.

It is a very important thing. Now, Rs. 52 crores is the subsidy they are giving to 15 lakh ration card-holders. But they are increasing the price of rice by Rs. 1.20. It means, the other people will pay Rs. 160 crores. You are extracting Rs. 160 crores minimum from the people of Kerla! You are giving concessions to the tune of Rs. 52 crores in Kerala and saying that you are doing a good service. Whom are you cheating?

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: He is the only Minister from Kerala.

SHRI VAYALAR RAVI : He is innocent. He is my friend. Let us not attack him.

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: Mr. Minister, you have to look at the Chair.

SHRI SURINDER KUMAR SINGLA: Mr. Vayalar Ravi is defending you, Mr. Minister.

SHRI VAYALAR RAVI: My point is that the new scheme announced by the Prime Minister—ration for the people below the poverty line—is going against the interests of the people of Kerala. Like in West Bengal, in Kerala also, we have got a good PD system. When you are increasing the prices of wheat and rice, you are extracting mony from us. Even if you increase the price by one rupee, for the total number of cards, you will get a minimum of Rs. 160 crores per year. And only 10 kilos of rice are given to the people of Kerala by this system. The total availability is 40 kilos. It means the poor people have to pay more money for the other 30 kilos every month. By a simple calculation, on 10 kilos, they are getting a concession of Rs. 30/- and on the other 30 kilos, at the rate of one rupee per kilo, they are paying you back Rs. 30/-. It means nothing; zero. Look at the kind of cheating! The Rs. 30/- paid by the right hand is taken back by the left hand, from 15 lakh people.The others who are having ration cards have to pay you Rs. 160 crores per year. So, sir, this is a backdoor method of cutting the subsidy. Subsidy is the only facility for the poor people, to help the poor. There is nothing else. This Government cannot adopt the philosophy of Ronald Reagan, President Reagan. President Reagan thought of cutting the facilities to the poor, the Blacks. Now you have started in the same way. From 'Manmohanomics', you are going to 'Reaganomics'. What is this? I strongly oppose this.

I am concluding, Sir. I totally oppose any attempt to reduce or cut down the subsidy to the poor in respect of food items. The Government has now made a new method of ration which is a method adopted by the Finance Minister and this Government to reduce the subsidy to the people living below the poverty line. It will go against the poor of the country. This subsidy is the only source of remedy

for the poor people in the poverty-stricken States.

Lastly, in the area of food production, the position is very alarming. The Finance Minister has admitted that. After the Green Revolution, the population has gone up. I agree that the population has gone up. The population which was 36 crores in 1947 has gone up to 100 crores today. And yet, up to last year, we were able to manage with the food production that we had. Today, we are going in for import of foodgrains losing foreign exchange in the process.

What are the reasons? One is that the incentives given to the farmers—I am not talking about big farmers—are coming down. Every increase in the issue price of wheat or rice will help the rich farmers only, not the poor farmers.

Sir, I want to make the last point. Our Minister, Veerendra Kumarji, knows that the tile industry is one of the major labour-oriented industries in Kerala. Now the Minister has imposed an excise duty of 15 per cent. Lakhs of workers are working there. It will go against our own interest. It will not go against children alone. Kerala is a land of rain, not like Bengal, Sir. We have more rain than you have. Now he has put a tax on pocky umbrellas used by children.

SHRI M.P. VEERENDRA KUMAR: Even if we don't have rain, we have brain.

SHRI VAYALAR RAVI: We have got the brain also. We have the rain and the brain, both....*(interruptions)*...The excise duty on tile has to be looked into. I hope that the Minister will understand that the industry is employment-oriented. As far as umbrellas are concerned, Kerala and South India, the East and the South are affected by taxation on umbrellas.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MD. SALIM): The East and the North-East.

SHRI VAYALAR RAVI: As far as other taxes are concerned, he should increase the excise duty on certain things. Sir, I am suggesting some ways to the Minister to get some money. Mr. Chidambaram must increase the excise duty on the import of caprolactam and titanium dioxide. In these two industries a lot of money is invested. He has to increase the excise duty and he must give up his capitalist approach and he should not try to create a capitalist economy. He can go in for a socialist market economy. I wish, he should be a Nehruvian rather than a capitalist.

Thank you, Madam.

DR. BIPLAB DASGUPTA (West Bengal): Sir, as a party, we have some serious reservations about this Budget. The Budget reveals several asymmetries and incongruiences about which I will talk in the beginning, and if the time permits, I will also try to discuss some of the fundamental issues. I want to point out one of the asymmetries in th fulfilment of the CMP objectives. There is a lot of stress on growth, but not on the other two major objectives, one of which is self-reliance, and the other is social justice. If you look at this Budget, I am not saying that the Budget will make the poor poorer; I am not making that statement, but certainly, the Budget is going to make the rich richer. It will make the Maruti-set very happy, it will make the stock exchange people very happy, but it will certainly not make the common man happy because it has widened the disparties in incomes of the people in our country. If you look at the concessions which have been given, I think it was wrong to withdraw the taxes on dividends; it was wrong to reduce the corporate tax rate; it was wrong to reduce the tax rates at the higher levels of income to 30 per cent. All these would be damaging

the country's economy in the sense that it is opposed to the principle of social justice.

Now one good thing I find in the Budget is, the Minister has tried to identify incomes in terms of expenditure, in

terms of telephones and property. It is a very welcome move. I congratulate the Minister on this. But I think the Minister has not gone logically ahead on this. Why doesn't he try to bring into his tax-net a sizable chunk of rural rich, which is not here at the moment? I am not talking about the rural income tax which is the subject of the State Governments. What about the rural wealth tax? From the rural wealth you can more easily identify the rural income. You can look into the land records, you can look into whether a person has got a tractor or not, whether he has got a harvestor or not, and from the list of things, which are required for cultivation like deep tubewells you can calculate the income that the rich farmer gets and the rural income can be taxed. Unfortunately, that was not done. If that had been done, it would not have hurt the common people, the rural people.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: Tax on what?

DR. BIPLAB DASGUPTA: Tax on wealth.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: Wealth tax?

DR. BIPLAB DASGUPTA: Yes. To tax income in terms of wealth. You could have immediately brought into the tax-net about four to five crores of people. That would have certainly fetched something like 15,000 to 20,000 crores of rupees. Why was an attempt not made to widen the tax-base? All that you require is political will which, I think, is missing.

Now when you come to agriculture, this point has been covered by some of the other Members. I don't want to deal with it in detail. The Minister said, "there is a strong recovery in agriculture." What is the strong recovery? We have only gone back to the 1995 figures. In 1997 we have gone back to the 1995 figures. *(Interruptions)*... Mr. Minister, please listen to me. In 1997 we have gone back to the 1995 figures. If you take all the six years together, in January, 1997 an average Indian's *per capita* food availability is less than what it was in July, 1991. There has been a reduction in *per capita* food availability over the last six years. It is so despite the fact that we have had eight successive years of good harvest. We have given an enormous amount to agriculture by way of credit. We have also given higher procurement prices. Even then agriculture has not shown any progress. There is no analysis in the Budget as to why this has happened.

Then I find two incongruences to which I would like the Minister to reply. It seems that our Government is operating parallelly in two areas; one is the foreign policy and the other is economic policy. In our foreign policy the Government is taking a very independent position on CTBT, on NPT and on other issues, probably, to the displeasure of some mighty nations of the world. In our economic policy we are looking for accolades from the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. If this is the economic policy, then an independent foreign policy cannot be sustained. Another interesting part is that very recently we have had a tremendous success with Bangladesh in developing neighbourly relations. Now we are talking about the formation of South Asian Free Trade Association by the end of this century. It is a very important achievement, I would say. But not a single word is there in the Budget about this. If you want to develop a regional economic association like the European Common Market, like the North American Free Trade Arrangement, like the ASEAN like the Andean Pact, there has to be some concern, some commitment on the part of the Finance Minister also. It is not a matter of concern only for the External Affairs Minister. Unfortunately, this very important step, which can actually help the country to develop economically in terms of better economic relations with neighbours, has completely been ignored by the Finance Minister. I would like to raise a number of very important issues in relation to more fundamental policies.

Mr. Chidambaram, would you kindly listen to me and not to my friend, Mrs. Renuka Chowdhury?

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: I am listening to you as much as I am listening to everybody. No more, no less.

DR. BIPLAB DASGUPTA: I think you listen less. I feel the Finance Minister is taking a highly simplistic, monolithic view of development. He is being influenced by received wisdom, the wisdom which is coming from the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. He is not looking at the reports of various other international agencies like the Economic Commission for Africa, like the Economic Commission for Latin America and Caribbean, like the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), like the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD). If you look at their reports, you would say that the kind of theology that the World Bank is propagating in our country is not universal. It is not that everybody is agreeing with them. A few countries which have consistently performed over the last three decades are the East Asian countries. they developed because they violated each and every norm of the World Bank. That is the reason why they developed. I have with me this book called "The East Asian Miracle" which I hope the Finance Minister has gone through. This book is a publication of the World Bank. This publication came about because the Japanese thought what the World Bank was preaching is not universal. The East Asians have a different kind of development experience. They gave $ 1.2 billions to the World Bank to produce the volume. This volume tries to justify the World Bank's position. Even then it comes out with statements which totally contradicts the faith of our Minister in free trade in the market and in all other things. I would just read one or two interesting paras of it. It is a World Bank document. It is not a CPI (M) documents.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MD. SALIM): You have two minuted left now.

DR. BIPLAB DASGUPTA: Please be a little more generous to me, Sir, if you don't mind. The World Bank documents is talking about East Asian experience. It says:

> "In most of these economies, in one form or another, the Government intervened systematically and through multiple channels to foster development, and in some cases the development of specific industries. Policy interventions took many forms: targeting and subsidizing credit to selected industries."

Our Finance Minister thinks that it is wrong.

It further says:

> "Keeping deposit rates low and maintaining ceilings on borrowing rates to increase profit and retained earnings, protecting domestic import substitutes....."

He thinks that import substitution is wrong. It further says:

> "....subsidizing declining industries, establishing and financially supporting government banks, making public investments in applied research, establishing firm and industry-specific export targets, developing export marketing institutions, and sharing information widely between public and private sectors. Some industries were promoted, while others were not."

All this is totally in contrast with the policies which our Government thinks are correct. That is the World Bank theology. This group of countries succeeded because they did not have to rely on the World Bank or the International Monetary Fund for funding. Only once for five years South Korea had to depend on them; otherwise they did not have to go to the World Bank or the International Monetary Fund.

They followed independent policies and succeeded.

The same report says:

"Not only the state was interventionist, such intervention in economic matters had not inhibited growth and had, indeed led to "higher and more equal growth than otherwise would have occurred"

Not only more growth but higher and more equal growth has happened in the East Asian countries because the Government played a very important role, an active role. The Government promoted industries, gave subsidies to industries, gave protection to industries and kept the foreign enterprises at bay. Because of this they succeeded in building industries within the country. Companies could try out their things within the domestic market. Having succeeded, they could take on the rest of the world. This is the policy they followed and succeeded. But what about the policies which the World Bank preached in the rest of the world? What is the experience? I can identify two countries which have benefited from the World Bank style structural adjustment policies. One is Ghana and the other is Chile. No other country has succeeded. On the one hand we find a group of successful East Asian countries which have completely violated the World Bank theology and succeeded. Then there is anoher group of countries, most of them countries in Asia, Africa and Lafin America, who are actually now in a very desperate condition.

Africa South of Sahara who had been the most faithful in implementing the policies, they are the poorest in the world. They are becoming poorer every day. Latin America and Africa are saying that the decade of 80s was the 'lost decade' 80s. Now they are saying the same thing about the 90s. I would request the Minister to study the world literature. Literature is available even in the World Bank which has been written by experts and scholars. He may be having a completely different view of how the economy should be run.

I have two more points. One is about capital account. I find in the Budget that the Government is thinking in terms of moving towards convertibility in capital accounts. The Minister says, "It is acherished goal." Cherished goal of whom? It is not of the CMP. It has not been mentioned in the CMP anywhere. It is not mentioned anywhere in the CMP that capital account convertibility is a cherished goal. It is the Minister's cherished goal. But this is the ultimate in globalisation. If you can have convertibility in capital accounts, that is the ultimate in globalisation. That completes globalisation. Do you have to do it? Should you do it? I would like to warn the Minister that he should not move into territories where angels fear to tread. It is a very dangerous territory. Mr. Minister, you should be careful. Even the developed countries in the world never went for it so quickly. In 1961, the OECD countries worked out codes of liberalisation. But it was not until the 80s when the rich countries in the world went for capital account convertibility. Even in the 80s the South European countries, whether Italy or France, did not go for it. Even at the beginning of this decade in 1990, France and several other OECD countries had not gone in for capital account convertibility. I was in England in 1970. They did not have capital account convertibility then. Argentina, Chile and Uruguay, I am just mentioning three countries, went in for convertibility. They had to abandon it because they could not implement it. It is a very, very risky step that you are taking. It cannot be sustained. I will quote what John Williamson has to say on this. He is an authority on this subject. What does he say? He is not a Marxist. He is very much in support of structural adjustments. But he is a scared of capital account convertibility. What is his advice? Everbody knows about John Williamson. He says, "It is now generally

agreed that the capital account is the last thing that should be liberalised." He says many other things. But I do not have the time to quote him. Stanley Fischer is another man from the World Bank. He says, "In general, capital accounts should not be liberalised until a substantial measure of macroeconomic stability has been attained." What is the Latin American experience? ECLAC says, "It should be recalled that Latin American history has been marked by periods of large-scale capital inflows, followed on a number of occasions by periods of debt crisis. This has sparked a wide-ranging debate on the dynamics of the process of opening up the capital account." He further says, "The process must be tailored to the economy's capacity to absorb and efficiently allocate external resources." It is a very, very risky step is being contemplated. It is a dangerous step. Don't get into a territory which is unknown. Try to take the advice of foreign experts, internationally known experts. They will tell you not to rush into it. It is very risky. It can destroy our economy. I will just give you one example as to how it can destroy us. To have capital account convertibility, you must have the same lending rates. When you give credit to a company, it must be on the same rate, the rate on which credit is given to companies by foreign sources. But if you have to have the same lending rate, say 8 per cent, 9 per cent or 10 per cent, what would be the borrowing rate? You cannot have a borrowing rate of 12 per cent, 13 per cent or 16 per cent and a lending rate of 8 per cent. If that is done, our Indian banks will collapse. Have you reached the stage where you can bridge the difference between the two? Have you reached the stage where you can bridge the borrowing rate with lending rates of 6 per cent, 7 per cent and 8 per cent. It has not been done. If you do it, you will be destroying our banking system. I am warning you on this particular point. I have to just make another point and then I will finish.

What is globalisation? I will just quote the report of the OECD. OECD is organisation of rich countries. This report of the OECD is called the Technology and Economic Programme. It was published in Paris in 1992. I will just quote a few things from this report. It says, "Globalisation represents a new phase in the process of internationalisation and the spread of international production. It refers to a set of emerging conditions in which value and wealth are increasingly being produced and distributed within world-wide corporate networks." Globlisation means production and distribution within the world-wide corporate network. "Large multinational firms operating in concentrated supply structures are at the hub of these conditions." Who is saying this? The OECD which is an organisation of rick countries is saying that large multinational companies control the world economy. What is the consequence? The same report says, "the first concerns the marginalisation of developing countries within the globalisation process." If you allow globalisation, it will marginalise the poor countries. "The second concerns concentration as a world process and whether a global competition policy is needed and how it might be implemented. The thrid relates to the problems posed by support given by Governments to firms engaged in global competition and the need for new rules and codes of behaviour. The fourth relates to standards and norms in the context of rapid and pervasive technological change..." "Most of world trade is the product of industries that one can have no hesitation in classifying as oligopolies." Oligopoly means a small number of very large companies controlling the world economy.

They say, "In a real world of oligopolistic competition, the number of participating firms in some high-technology industry may be relatively small and profits can be above and

beyond the "normal" return. In such a world, there are powerful incentives for a national government to ensure, by undertaking unilateral measures, that its own national participants in the competition win a large share of these industrial sectors and profits in the integrated global market"

Now, I can't read the whole thing. But it is the duty of the national government to support their own domestic industry against the multinational competition because the world market which is called globalisation is something dominated by a small number of very large multinational companies. So, Sir, this is the situation. I would urge the Finance Minister. I know you were an eminent lawyer but economics may be a new ground for you. You may be knowing more about the share market than I do. But economics is much more than a share market. Sir, there is lot of literature that is available now in the world arena. The United Nations has produced it. So many scholars have produced it. Please ask somebody in the Finance Ministry to read this material to come to his own conclusions and not be guided by the 'received' wisdom, which has proved to be a disaster in Africa, in Asia and in Latin America. If you do that, history will not forgive you. Thank you, very much.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MD. SALIM): Shri Sanjay Nirupam. He is absent. Shri Joy Nadukkara. He is also absent. Shri abdussamad Samadani.

SHRI M.P. ABDUSSAMAD SAMADANI (KERALA): Thank you, Sir. In this very detailed discussion, I am taking part only to make a few comments.

The Budget which has been a subject of hot discussion both inside the Parliament and outside has certain salient features. It does not contain fresh taxes. Also, it grants relief to the tax-payer. The business community is also being benefited.

Sir, agriculture is the backbone of our economy. But in the grant given to the Agriculture Ministry in 1996-97, Rs. 653 crores have been left unutilised. That is the kind of attention that we are paying to our farmers. So, my request to the hon. Finance Minister is that when the reviews the situation that exists in this country, he should pay more careful attention to the pathetic condition that the field of agriculture faces in our country. More tragic is the case of rural water supply and sanitation programmes. As per the Economic Survey, only 4.64 per cent of the rural population has sanitation facility. In short, 95 per cent of the poor people who live in villages are exposed to serious unhygienic conditions. But the Government has not spent even the meagre grant that has been given. Denial of funds that could have benefited deserving schemes is a reflection of fiscal mismanagement. It is unpardonable. Sir, it is a matter of shame that even as the country is proceeding towards globalisation, the poor people are compelled to live in very bad conditions. Our economic thought and programmes have to go miles forward to achieve the goal of ensuring a decent living for them, that is, a house, good education for children and nourishing diet. Liberalisation is good but it has to improve the living conditions of the people. In this regard, we are not able to make good results. Instead of real development, a horrifying type of consumerism has come into existence. It is here that we should all stand for a thorough correction.

Sir, the success of every Budget lies in the protection it gives to the weaker sections of the society. The present Budget's care for minorities is not up to the required level. The education and social uplift of the minorities and the backward classes need more attention. I would request the hon. Finance Minister to review the situation and do the needful in this regard.

Another grievance is connected with the State of Kerala. That has already been explained in detail by hon. Member, Shri Vayalar Ravi.

THE MINISTER OF WELFARE (SHRI BALWANT SINGH RAMOOWALIA): Sir, it is for the first time in the last many many years that so much funds have been given for the welfare of the minorities. The Maulana Azad Education Fund has been increased. It was Rs. 30 crores for the last 10 years.

A major jump has been given by Mr. Chidambaram. It has been increased from Rs. 30 crores to Rs. 70 crores. I had been a member and the Vice-Chairman of the Minorities Commission for many years.

SHRI M.P. ABDUSSAMAD SAMADANI: Does the hon. Minister mean to say that everything is complete and nothing remains? And Maulana Azad University...

SHRI SATISH AGARWAL (Rajasthan): Mr. Ramoowalia, let him make his point. He has got his own viewpoint.

SHRI BALWANT SINGH RAMOOWALIA: He is our hon. colleague like you. I was just correcting him. ...*(Interruptions)*...For the first time, there has been a big jump in the allocation of the National Minorities Development Corporation.

SHRI M.P. ABDUSSAMAD SAMADANI: What about Minorities Corporation?

SHRI BALWANT SINGH RAMOOWALIA: Yes, I am telling that.

SHRI M.P. ABDUSSAMAD SAMADANI: I think the amount is not up to the level, at least. It can be reviewed. I don't mean that the Finance Minister has not done anything.

SHRI BALWANT SINGH RAMOOWALIA: There was a big jump of Rs. 5 crores this time.

SHRI M.P. ABDUSSAMAD SAMADANI: As far as the Maulana Azad University for Urdu is concerned, I would like to clarify that Urdu is not the language of the minorities or the majority. It is the language of the nation. ...*(Interruptions)*...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MD. SALIM): Mr. Minister, even if he is asking for more funds for the development and welfare minorities, it is going to help you only as the Welfare Minister

SHRI BALWANT SINGH RAMOOWALIA: Sir, he is mentioning about Urdu, but I am mentioning about the Maulana Azad Education Foundation.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MD. SALIM): Is he talking about the Maulana Azad University?

SHRI BALWANT SINGH RAMOOWALIA: Yes, Sir.

SHRI SURINDER KUMAR SINGLA: Sir, I think, the Minister is not greedy. He wants to remain content with it.

SHRI K. RAHMAN KHAN (Karnataka): Sir, the Minister is saying that they have been given a higher allocation, but it is a fact that it is a continuing scheme. It is not a new scheme. The Maulana Azad Education Foundation or the Minorities Development Corporation...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MD. SALIM): Mr. Rahman, he is not saying that it is a new scheme. He is saying that there is a higher allocation than the previous year.

SHRI BALWANT SINGH RAMOOWALIA: It was just Rs. 30 crores for the last five to seven years. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI M.P. ABDUSSAMAD SAMADANI: The interests of the economy of Kerala deserve consideration and help of the Central Government. The industry and the cash products of Kerala cannot be badly affected by import of foreign products.

As the policy towards taxation is considered as one of the salient features of the Budget, I may be permitted to make a few comments on this subject. The reduction in personal and corporate tax rates is, no doubt, going to boost the industrial activity throughout the country. But, how far will this growth continue to exist? The revenue implications of the tax reductions are to be taken seriously. There is some risk in the decision to reduce tax rates. The nation is in the need for more revenues for its development activities. Health, education, etc., are to be strenthened with more and more economic backing. In this context, only vigilant approach will help the situation. The risk involved can be avoided by keen attention and careful planning. Tax should be collected from the rich who evade tax payment and its benefits should be utilised for nation building and development activities. Sir, the tax cuts in the U.S. had contributed a great deal to the crisis called "greedy eighties". We should take note of this and do everything possible to check such a trend of deflation and economic anarchy.

Sir, the present budget brings the direct tax rates close to those prevailing in the South East Asian countries. Exploiting this situation, Indian industry can adjust to the evolving situation and the external trade region can fall in line with these countries.

Sir, bold steps to protect the interests of the poor are needed for making the determination of the Finance Minister to make India as competitive as any other Asian country a reality. Moderate tax rates will ensure broadened tax base. This will lead to higher collections.

Sir, with regard to the concepts of taxation and its relation with the revenues of the State, the ideas contained in the thoughts of the famous Indian philosopher Shah Waliyullah are very relevant. Shah Waliyullah who lived in this city of Delhi had stated in one of his works that it is the luxurious life of the rich that leads to heavy taxes that are levied upon the labour class and the peasantry. They work like animals day and night to support the luxurious life of a section of the society. He further says that some of those who get government salary do not work at all. Hence, they become a burden upon the State exchequer. This revolutionary thinker of his times suggests, for the betterment of the quality of the work of Government services and lightening of the taxes, serious steps for employment for the well-being of the society.

Only by learning from own experiences, our own history, we will be able to reach the goal of progress. Sir, the problem of unemployment can effectively be tackled by industrialisation. Unfortunatley, still the country is under the clutches of unemployment. The youth of the nation expect nothing but employment for their livelihood from their Government. So, from the new economic programmes of the Central Government, we expect more in this regard to strengthen the cause of employment, safety and protection of the weaker sections of the society and the unemployed youth.

Thank you, Sir.

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री मोहम्मद सलीम): श्रीमती उर्मिला चिमनभाई पटेल। आपकी पार्टी के 16 मिनट बचे हैं और इसमें दो हैं आप लोग तो 8-8 मिनट करके ले लीजिए।

श्रीमती उर्मिला चिमनभाई पटेल (गुजरात): थैंक्यू सर। मैं आपके माध्यम से कहना चाहती हूं कि यह जो बजट राणा मंत्री जी ने दिया है इसमें जो टैक्स फेयर है उसमें अच्छे लोगों के लिए बहुत से कन्सेशन दिए हैं। लेकिन जो गरीब आदमी हैं उनके बारे में बहुत

कम सोचा गया है। मंत्री जी कहेंगे कि फाइनेंशियल प्रविजन्स बढ़ाए गए हैं। अकेले पैसे बढ़ाने से गरीबों का काम नहीं होता है। गरीब तक कितने पैसे पहुंचते हैं यह उससे ज्यादा जरूरी है।

दूसरी बात मैं बताना चाहूंगी कि शहर के जो गरीब लोग हैं उनके लिए सिर्फ दो सौ करोड़ का इंतजाम किया गया है। शहरों में, हर एक बड़ी बड़ी इंडस्ट्रियल सिटी में स्लम्स होते हैं और स्लम्स कैसे होते हैं यह हम सब जानते हैं। उसका डिसकशन करके मैं समय ज्यादा बिताना नहीं चाहती हूं। इन स्लम्स में शिड्यूल्ड कास्ट्स, शिड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स और लघुमती सभी कम्युनिटीज के लोग रहते हैं जिनके मकान न रहने लायक हैं, न यहां लाइट, पानी या गटर की सुविधा है। मानसून के दिनों में उनकी झोंपडियों में भी पानी चला जाता है और नर्क जैसी परिस्थिति उन दिनों वहां हो जाती है। वहां सफाई भी नहीं होती है और गंदगी भी रहती है। कई प्रकार के रोग उन लोगों को इनकी वजह से होते हैं। उनके बारे में कोई सोच नहीं किया गया है। मैं मुम्बई अहमदाबाद जैसे बड़े शहरों में आपको बताऊं कि वहां ऐसे स्लम्स में स्ट्रीट लाइट भी नहीं होती है।

दूसरी बात मैं गांवों के बारे में कहना चाहूंगी कि इंदिरा आवास योजना में जो मकान बनाए गए हैं और जो मकान दस-दस, बारह-बारह, पन्द्रह-पन्द्रह साल से बने हैं वे अब टूटे फूटे हो गए हैं। उनकी रिपेयरिंग के लिए उन लोगों के पास कोई गुंजाइश नहीं है। तो इंदिरा आवास योजना के मकानों की रिपेयरिंग के लिए मंत्री जी ने अगर कुछ प्राविजन किया होता तो गरीब आदमियों को इससे बहुत फायदा होता।

एक दूसरा भी सुझाव है कि इंदिरा आवास योजना में हमने जो मकानों का इंतजाम किया है उनमें मिनिमम रहने की जगह का ही इंतजाम किया है। इनमें इलेक्ट्रिसिटी, ड्रेनेज या वाटर कनेक्शन की किसी गुंजाइश का हमने प्राविजन नहीं किया है। अगर कोई मर्यादा थोड़ी सी बढ़ाकर कुछ रकम इंदिरा आवास योजना में लगायी जाए तो इलेक्ट्रिसिटी, ड्रेनेज और पानी की सुविधा गरीब लोगों को मिल सकती है। यह करना बहुत जरूरी है। इसके बारे में मंत्री जी सोचें ऐसा मेरा सुझाव है।

एक दूसरी बात मैं महिलाओं के बारे में कहूंगी। जैसे समाज में गरीब लोग हैं वैसे ही महिलाएं पिछड़े लोगों में भी पिछड़ी हुई हैं। उनके लिए कोई खास प्राविजन नहीं किया गया है। महिलाओं के ऊपर अनेक अत्याचार होते रहते हैं।

खास तौर पर जब बलात्कार होता है तब महिला की स्थिति बहुत खराब होती है। ऐसी महिलाओं का न माता-पिता एक्सैप्ट करते हैं और न ससुराल वाले एक्सैप्ट करते हैं। इसी कंडीशन में जब आश्रित रह कर जीती है तो बड़ी मुश्किल होती है। अगर शादी-शुदा नहीं है तो इस लड़की से कोई शादी करने को तैयार नहीं होता है। ऐसी महिलाओं के लिए कुछ खास प्रोविज़न किया जाए। यह बहुत जरूरी है कि इसके बारे में हम सोचें। जैसे महिलाओं के बारे में हम कहते हैं वैसे बच्चों के बारे में भी यह यूनाइडेड फ्रंट की सरकार कंप्लसरी प्राइमरी एजुकेशन की बात करती थी, लेकिन जब बजट में प्रोविजन आया तो प्राइमरी एजुकेशन के लिए थोड़ा इंतजाम ज्यादा किया गया। इतना ही हुआ है। कंप्लसरी प्राइमरी एजुकेशन के बारे में सोचा नहीं गया है। अगर पांच साल का टाईम बाउंड प्रोग्राम कंप्लसरी एजुकेशन दाखिल करने के लिए मंत्री जी ने बनाया होता तो इस देश में एजुकेशन को बढ़ावा मिलता और हरेक बच्चे और बच्ची को बढ़ाने का जो हम वायदा कर रहे हैं इसको फुलफिल करने की दिशा में हमने कुछ काम किया होता।

दूसरी बात जो मुझे ज्यादा महत्वपूर्ण लगती है वह इन्फ्रास्ट्रक्चर डवल्पमेंट के बारे में है जिसके बारे में इस बजट में कम सोचा गया है। हमारी कमी है पानी और बिजली। बिजली के लिए हमारे कितने ही पावर प्रोजैक्ट्स बंद पड़े हैं। मैं जहां तक जानती हूं उत्तर पूर्व के पूरे विस्तार में 65 पावर प्रोजैक्ट बंद पड़े हुए हैं। कहीं एक तरह का या दूसरी तरह का लिटिगेशन चल रहा है। हाइडल पावर सब से सस्ती बिजली है और यह देश के आम आदमी को सस्ती बिजली चाहिए तो इसके बारे में कुछ स्पेशल सोचा गया होता तो बहुत अच्छा होता। यह बजट के प्रोविज़न के तौर पर मैं और भी कहना चाहती हूं कि कानूनी तौर पर भी इसके बारे में सोचा जाए यह बहुत जरूरी है। ऐसे कई डैम हैं जो लिटिगेशन में पड़े हुए हैं, कई डैम्ज हैं जो एक्टिविस्टों की एक्टिविटीज के कारण उनका काम बंद हुआ है। ऐसे मल्टी परपज़ डैम्ज का इश्यू भी बहुत महत्वपूर्ण है। हमारे देश में पानी की कमी नहीं है। ऐसी स्थिति में पानी का मैनेजमेंट करना बहुत जरूरी है और इसके बारे में अगर मंत्री जी ने कोई प्रोविज़न सोचा होता तो यह देश के ऊपर बहुत बड़ा उपकार हुआ होता। वैसे इन्फ्रास्ट्रक्चरल फैसिलिटीज़ के बारे में बहुत कम सोचा गया है, इसके ऊपर भी मंत्री जी का ध्यान जाना चाहिए।

दूसरी बात मैं सिक यूनिट्स के बारे में बताना चाहती हूं। हमारे देश में कई क्षेत्रों में सिक यूनिट्स हैं। इसको हम बी०आई०एफ०आर० की ओर से मदद करना चाहते थे लेकिन प्रैक्टिस में हम कुछ कर नहीं पाए हैं। एक भी मिल को हम, यह टैक्सटाइल मिल चाहे महाराष्ट्र की हो या गुजरात की हो और चाहे अन्य प्रदेशों की हों, उनको मदद करके उनका एकाध सैक्शन भी, अगर स्पिनिंग सैक्शन भी हम चालू कर सकते तो कई लोगों को इसके द्वारा रोज़गार मिलता, लेकिन इसके बारे में भी हम कुछ नहीं कर पा सके हैं और जो बंद पड़ी मिलें हैं जैसे कि बड़ौदा की यमुना मिल 15 साल से बंद पड़ी है। उसका सैटलमेंट भी हो गया है। एक इन्स्टालमेंट भी दिया गया है। अब कोई सैटलमेंट की बात बाकी नहीं है। फिर भी 15-15 साल होते हुए उन लोगों को बी०आई०एफ०आर० की ओर से दूसरा इन्स्टालमेंट नहीं मिलता है, न पूरा कंपेंसेशन मिलता है और न ड्यूज़ मिलता है। ऐसी यमुना मिल जैसी गुजरात में और गुजरात के बाहर अनेक मिलें हैं उनके बारे में भी मंत्री जी को सोचना जरूरी है। ....(**व्यवधान**)

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री मोहम्मद सलीम): आपको अब समाप्त करना है।

श्रीमती उर्मिला चिमनभाई पटेल: महोदय, मैं एक-दो बातें और जरूर करूंगी। एनवायरनमेंट के नाम पर अहमदाबाद में करीब 700 स्मॉल स्केल इंडस्ट्रीज़ बंद पड़ी हैं। हाई कोर्ट के डिसिज़न से ये बंद पड़ी हैं।

पूरे गुजरात में 7 हजार मिलें है और पूरे देश की संख्या अगर गिनें तो हजारों की संख्या में ये स्मॉल स्केल इंडस्ट्रीज बंद हैं। तो इस बारे में भी कुछ सोचना जरूरी है कि अगर एनवायरेनमेंट प्रोटेक्शन के लिए पूरी व्यवस्था उन लोगों ने न की हो तो उन को फायनेंसियल सपोर्ट या बैंकों से लोन दिलवाकर 3 से 6 महीने के टाइम बाउंड समय में वह एनवायरेनमेंट प्रोटेक्शन का काम शुरू करें तो कई लोगों को रोजगारी मिलेगी। उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, आज हजारों लोग जोकि स्मॉल स्केल इंडस्ट्रीज में काम करते हैं, वह बेकार बैठे हुए हैं। उन के बारे में भी ...(**समय की घंटी**)...सोचना चाहिए। इसीलिए मैं कह रही हूं कि इस बजट में मजदूरों के बारे में विचार नहीं किया गया है, महिलाओं के बारे में नहीं सोचा गया है, बच्चों के बारे में नहीं सोचा गया है या स्लम्स में रहने वाले लोगों के बारे में नहीं सोचा गया है।

इसलिए मेरा निवेदन है कि मंत्री जी अभी भी ऐसा सोचकर थोड़े और कंसेशंस उन लोगों को दें या उन के लिए इस बजट में नए प्रोजेक्ट्स दें तो इस से देश के गरीब आदमी को जरूर फायदा होगा। आप इस बारे में जरूरी सोचें यही उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं आप के माध्यम से वित्त मंत्री जी से विनती करती हूं।

SHRI SANATAN BISI (Orissa): Sir, in an era of coalition politics, our hon. Finance Minister, Shri Chidambaram's Budget is actually praiseworthy for its financial discipline.

I want to submit that all-round relief has been given in the sense that taxes have been slashed, plan expenditure has been increased and provision has been made for the Pay Commission award. At the same time, enforcing budgetary discipline is quite praiseworthy. In the situation of a coalition Government, Mr. Chidambaram is trying to build a building on the foundation of economic reforms.

The other thing I want to submit is about the articulation regarding the management of the Budget. In such a situation, he has managed the Budget. He has apportioned the limited fund to different Ministries. So far as the poverty-alleviation programme is concerned, a large-scale arrangement has been made for the purpose of basic minimum services. An amount of Rs. 3,300 crores has been provided.

The second thing is the Irrigation Benefit Programme, for which Rs.1,300 crores has been provided. Here, as you know, in Orissa, there is drought, there are starvation deaths and there is large-scale migration from the State. The Irrigation Benefit Programme will help the State of Orissa to a great extent because water potential is there and that has to be channelised. Every plot of land in orissa should get water so that we can have irrigation facilities.

I congratulate our Prime Minister for the implementation of the Ganga Kalyan Yojana. Under this Yojana, we can provide water to every plot of land in the drought-prone area of Orissa, and poor cultivators belonging to the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes and

other downtrodden people can benefit from this.

Regarding empowerment of women, the Kasturba Gandhi Shiksha Yojana is welcome.

Another thing is that I million youth will be empowered with their own small businessses.

Another thing I want to submit is about unearthing the black money. It has been rightly stated that we should get black money and that the black money can be very well spent for productive purposes. A Scheme for disclosure of black money has been introduced. The scheme applies to black money irrespective of the year in which black money was got, irrespective of its nature and irrespective of its source.

Secondly, the holder of black money, whether he is in India or abroad, can avail of this opportunity.

Thirdly, they will not have to pay any interest, and penalty has been waived.

I request the hon. Finance Minister that the notification be issued at the earliest so that they can avail of this golden opportunity.

(The Deputy Chairman *in the Chair*)

So, I congratulate the hon. Finance Minister for the all round relief that he has given in the Budget. I hope the whole House will support him. With this I conclude.

SHRI YERRA NARAYANASWAMY (Andhra Pradesh): Madam, I support and compliment the Finance Minister for introducing a popular Budget which is appreciated by most of the people. Even some economists say it is a good Budget after independence. The Finance Minister must keep it up by not introducing any fresh taxes or enhancing the present taxes during the year. Then only the people will appreciate the Budget.

Madam, it is also a welfare Budget. Even though some people say it is not a welfare Budget, because through the targetted public distribution system it is going to help the people below the poverty line. In this regard I want to bring to the notice of the Finance Minister the injustice that is going to be done to Andhra Pradesh. Mr. Lakdawala's report puts the percentage of the people below the poverty line in Andhra Pradesh at 22.9 whereas the national average is 36. So, an injustice to the people of Andhra Pradesh will be done while making allotment on this welfare scheme. I request the hon. Finance Minister to re-survey the number of people below the poverty line.

SHRIMATI RENUKA CHOWDHURY: Madam, I support my colleague on this. There is a very serious discrepancy that has come about. I do not think the hon. Finance Minister has realised it. Because of the introduction of the rice subsidy, this discrepancy has come about. They cannot treat all those people as above the poverty line.

SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE: So, you would be happy to have the old formula.

SHRI YERRA NARAYANASWAMY: Ther former Chief Minister, Mr. N.T. Rama Rao, had introduced the rice subsidy scheme. His dream was to implement it throughout the country for the welfare of the weaker sections. I thank the Prime Minister of the United Front Government to implement it throughout the country.

Secondly, I say that sufficient funds have not been allcoated for irrigation and power. It is the desire of the people, of Andhra Pradesh that the Polavaram Project on the river Godavari Multi purpose project be taken up as a national project. There is no national project in the whole of South India. The Godavari, with surplus water, with 900 TMC of its water, is going waste. Seventy per cent of its water is going into the Bay of Bengal. So, I would request the Finance Minister

and the Government of India to take up this river project as a national project. This project will generate 720 megawatts of electricity and will help irrigate 7,50,000 acres of land. So, the hydel power scheme is cheaper than the thermal power scheme or any other power scheme. Our State is already having surplus water. I would request the Government to take up the Polavaram project as a national project.

Now, I want to mention about the Inter-State river water disputes. There is a dispute regarding sharing of the Krishna river water between Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka. In spite of this dispute, Karnataka is enhancing the height of the dam to 509ft.

SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA: Have you not raised the height of the Nagarjuna Sagar dam? That is why we are doing it in the case of Almatti also.

SHRI YERRA NARAYANASWAMY: They are erecting the Almatti Dam height 509 feet and 15 feet of crest gates height ...(*Interruptions*)...They are impounding the water to the level of 524 feet. About 33,00,000 acres of land is being deprived of our share of water Krishna Basin of A.P.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now, your time is over. Every time we discuss water dipute, we get flooded.

SHRI YERRA NARAYANASWAMY: I request the Government to take up the Polavaram project as a national project.

Regarding natural calamities, I want to say something. The coastal areas of Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu and Orissa are frequently affected by natural calamities like cyclones and floods I would request the Government to increase the allotment to the National calamity Relief Fund. My last point is regarding MPs Local Area Development Fund. it is a very popular scheme. Everyone appreciated it. The people are after Members of Parliament asking for funds. So, I would request the hon. Finance Minister to enhance the allocation from Rs. 1 crore to Rs. 2 crores per year. Thank you.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN. Whether it is Y. Narayanaswamy or V. Narayanasamy, it is the same.

Mr. John F. Fernandes, there is really no time. But you want to speak for two minutes. You can do so.

SHRI JOHN F. FERNANDES (Goa): Madam Deputy Chairman, 8 minutes were allotted to me, but I will take 5 minutes only.

Madam, being the last speaker I feel most of the points have already been mentioned by my hon. colleagues. All the same, I have to support this Budget because the Prime Minister himself has stated that it is a Budget initiated by the Congress Government in 1991 and this is only its continuation. I feel the Finance Minister has over-indulged when he mentioned that this is the first genuine coalition Government at the Centre. Madam, I think it is not proper for him to say that it is a coalition Government at the Centre. The coalition Government is that Government where different parties come together and form a Government. But here is a minority Government supported by the Congress (I) party. Though we are not party to formulating the Budget proposals—because the Government rule doesn't permit us to sit and discuss the Budget—I feel that the hon. Finance Minister has taken care to see that the Budget is prepared on the lines of major political parties which are supporting it. The hon. Finance Minister has not made any mention that he has given us a good budget. The credit goes to the previous Government because he has inherited this Budget and an excellent balance of payments position from the previous Government.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: He was a Member of the Earlier Cabinet.

SHRI JOHN F. FERNANDES: That is what I am trying to remind him. I don't think he is far away. When I said that he has inherited a vigorous economy, we recorded impressive industrial growth, rising exports...

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: You read para 7.

SHRI JOHN F. FERNANDES: What does it say?

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: Whatever you want to say is there.

SHRI JOHN F. FERNANDES: I am not denying it. In para 7, you have mentioned about the growth rate. I have read para 7. You have mentioned the growth rate as 7 per cent for the last 3 years. That means you are saluting our farmers. That is what I am saying. I think you have also to salute the nature because the weather has been very good. This year also the crop is excellent.

SHRI R.K. KUMAR: He is saluting farmers, not the former Government.

SHRI JOHN F. FERNANDES: That is my problem.

The hon. Minister could not follow me. You are saluting farmers only, but not the Congress (I) party Government. The inflation was at the minimum of 4.5 per cent. I think this Budget is totally an inflationary Budget. At the moment, the inflation is 8.5 per cent. And again, it is a rich man's Budget. I need not say that. The custodians of the United Front, the CPM, have said that it is against the poor man. And they are likely to bring in a cut motion in the Lik Sabha. It is also reported. I think I have to take the cue from them.

DR. BIPLAB DASGUPTA: We are not bringing in any cut motion.

SHRI JOHN F. FERNANDES: Not here.

DR. BIPLAB DASGUPTA: Neither in the Lok Sabha nor in the Raiva Sabha.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Biplab, please do not take his time. He has only five minutes.

SHRI JOHN F. FERNANDES: Madam, these are the tricks by which the CPM are fooling the people. They talk in the name of the poor people and they come here and support the Government. They know they are not in the Government. But they are in charge of appointing Governors and officials outside. That is the *quid pro quo*.

SHRI DIPANKAR MUKHERJEE (West Bengal): Mr. Salve was supporting taxes. (*Interruptions*). Mr. Vayalar Ravi was opposing.

SHRI JOHN F. FERNANDES: They are not opposing. They say it is their Budget because they are supporting the Government. (*Interruptions*).

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Salve is a tax consultant and Mr. Fernandes is a supporter of the poor people. That is the difference.

SHRIMATI RENUKA CHOWDHURY: Madam, it is unity in diversity.

SHRI JOHN F. FERNANDES: This Government is headed by a Prime Minister who is a poor and humble farmer. He should have taken care of the poor people. Madam, this is totally a merket economy Budget, a Budget by which only 20 million people who have invested in the market, capital market, will benefit. When I talk of 20 million people, I am not talking of the Indians who are residing in this country only, but also of the people who are residing throughout the world. He has mentioned that we are going to pump in more money in the market. The hon. Minister has also give amnesty to the black-marketeers. At what rate? It is just one slab—30 per cent. There is no higher slab. He should have fixed it at 50 per cent. At the same time, he mentions that he will discourage laundering of money. I do not know how he can speak in the

same breath that he will also stop laundering of money in future.

Now, coming to infrastructure, we have seen how much the Government has increased. About 25 per cent on oil, just before the Budget; 15 per cent on diesel. In paragraph 28, the hon. Minister has mentioned that the growth of consumption of petroleum products in the country is about eight per cent. At the same time, the domestic production has gone down. And the Government has made no attempts to discourage consumption of petroleum products. This is the trait the Finance Minister follows ever time. In the name of controlling the consumption of petroleum products, they tax, they impose a higher tax, and they collect revenues.

The Finance Minister has made one good inclusion in this Budget by saying that the people who own a flat or a car in a metropolitan area will be taxed. I do not know how he is going to tax. Telephone is also included.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: He did not say 'car'. He had said 'four-wheeler'. That could be anything; a tractor, for example.

SHRI JOHN F. FERNANDES: Okay, 'Four-Wheeler', including a bus.

What I am trying to say is that there is no attempt by the hon. Minister to discourage the consumption of petroleum products in the country. I think we should have followed the pattern of family planning—one family, one car. That has not been done by the hon. Minister; nor by the Petroleum Minister who is about to make a statement in this House.

About infrastructure, in the power sector, we have thrown it open to the private sector. Our intention is that the private sector will bring in foreign capital, will bring in foreign technology. Most of these private sector people—it is happening in my State—instead of consuming the hydrocarbon fuel, just get a turbine fuel engine and they fuel it with naphtha which is a very expensive fuel because one litre of naphtha will produce about 10 kilos of urea in this country. Therefore, I want the hon. Minister to see that the fly-by-night operators in the country are not encouraged in the name of foreign investment. Only those multinationals who will bring in infrastructure and give it to this country should be encouraged in this country. The hon. Minister has not made any big provison for the national highways. He has provided only 500 crores of rupees to the National Highways Authority of India and he is totally relying on the private sector. Madam, is the Minister going to reply today after my speech is over?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No. Tomorrow.

SHRI JOHN F. FERNANDES: Then I can have more time.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: But that doesn't mean that you have ample time to speak!

SHRIMATI RENUKA CHOWDHURY: Madam, I was the only person who was not given sufficient time.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: He is not being given more time. He is finishing within the stipulated time. We have two other items of Legislative Business to finish.

SHRI JOHN F. FERNANDES: Madam, I feel that the hon. Minister has not done anything for development of the national highways in the country. More so, he has also allowed curbs on the Budgetary support to the Indian Railways and the Railways and the Railway Minister has to rely on mopping up taxes from the consumers and from the goods.

SHRIMATI RENUKA CHOWDHURY: Yes, that will certainly lead to inflation.

SHRI JOJH F. FERNANDES: Yes, that will certainly lead inflation.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. fernandes, may I ask you to conclude?

SHRI JOHN F. FERNANDES: Madam, there are only a very few points left.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Your time is over.

SHRI JOHN F. FERNANDES: I will just conclude.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I mean, in the House!

SHRI JOJH F. FERNANDES: Madam, the hon. Finance Minister spoke about foreign investments as if they have opened the doors very wide to the foreign investors in this country. In the past month, we have seen a contradiction within the United Front government. Madam, the three Ministers sat, i.e. the Finance Minister, the Industry Minister and the Commerce Minister, and took a decision to allow foreign investment. They sat in the Foreign Investment Promotion Board. And what does our Civil Aviation Minister say? He says that it is not possible! They can't take a decision for the other Ministries! If this is the signal we are going to give to the inter-national community for investment, I do not know in what way we are going to invite foreign investment. So, I feel that it is high time, before there are contradictions openly,—there are bound to be contradictions because 13 people are sitting there in the Government and they are trying to drive the cart in a certain direction that they saw to it that they took a decision and gave a right signal to the international community so that we could have good foreign investment. As we have mentioned in the morning, we are not at all against foreign investment from abroad in the civil aviation sector, but we are against foreign airlines coming in the domestic sector. Unless the Government makes up its mind, unless
the Government takes a decision, unless the Cabinet takes a decision and pronounces its policy before the House, I don't think we are going to send the right signals abroad. With these submissions, I support this Budget and I hope that the hon. Minister will not come again on first of April imposing more taxes on the poor people. Thank you.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Shri Parag Chaliha. Take a very few minutes. Take a little time. You have to compress your speech.

SHRI PARAG CHALIHA (Assam): Madam, I am the only man from Assam, the only man from the North-East.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: That is the targedy, but what can we do?

SHRI PARAG CHALIHA: I am, at least, one of the few oldest men sitting in the House.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: We don't have privileges for the old people in the House!

SHRI PARAG CHALIHA: Madam, I request you to be a little more tolerant. Madam, I rise to express my sincere appreciation for the General Budget for 1997-98 presented by our young and dynamic Finance Minister of the Government of India. My appreciation centres around the following provisions. Firstly, the Finance Minister has, for the first time in the history of Budget presentation, proved wrong all the apprehensions. ...(*interruptions*)... Madam, may I have your attention?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You have my attention.

SHRI PARAG CHALIHA: The Finance Minister has proved wrong all the apprehensions raised by the financial pundits who virtually pitied Mr. Chidambaram's plight in being fettered by obligations both inside and outside the country, besides warning that inflation is certain to rise sky high. Madam, the climate for the Indian industry appears salubrious, if not alluring. The provisions judiciously brought out by the Finance Minister to encourage industrial growth and to increase output both in quality and quantity

have righly been applauded by the captains of industry. Without covering the entire list of such provisions, I want to mention only a few of them by way of my appreciation of the Budget. One such provision is the exemption given to computer software from Customs Duty. It does not need rhetoric to highlight the impact of this step as computers are becoming a part of modern life progressively. This step will accelerate the change in the trend of living at the end of the 20th century. Another such provision is reduction in corporate tax to 35% on domestic companies. This will give them an incentive to produce more and to compete with the international manufacturers and to reap a rich harvest as reward for their efforts. The major import duty reductions that have been effected in the case of electronic items like colour TV, telecom equipment and inputs used by textile industry will go a long way in reducing their cost and making them accessible to the common man who could ill afford them till now. I hail the measure of giving the status of infrastructure industry to the telecom sector and as a result, a host of benefits have been showered on the said sector. These include a tax holiday under section 80 IA, amortisation of licence fees and relief to investors in telecom companies under section 88. All these, I believe, will accelerate the speed of telecom revolution in the country.

The concessions given to the tourism sector also deserve praise, particularly the provision which allows a deduction of 50% of the profits in respect of new hotels which are located in hilly areas of in rural areas or at a place of worship or pilgrimage or at a specified place of tourist importance. These hotels have further been exempted from the levy of expenditure tax. I think the North-East will also be one of those who would be benefited by these provisions.

The increase in Excise Duty on non-filter cigarettes or mini cigarettes from Rs. 75 per thousand to Rs. 90 per thousand is also justified as it contributes to our fight against dreadful diseases like cancer. Those provisions which bring down the cost of many consumer goods, for example, tooth-paste and tooth-powder, clocks and watches, biscuits, confectionaries, sanitary articles, flourescent tubes, etc., deserve unqualified suport.

However, I would like to make a few suggestions which, if accepted by the Finance Minister in right earnest, would enable him to earn a lot more appreciation from all those who have not been benefited so far. They are as follows: (1) Though the Finance Minister has received great felicitations from the salaried class due to the proposed reduction in income-tax rates, I cannot agree with Shri Madhu Dandavate, the Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission, in holding that it would have been better, if higher rebate on savings had been given and that the reduction in income-tax rate will add to the problems of the States which willl now get a reduced share of this tax, (2) While granting the status of infrastructure industry to the telecome sector, the Finance Minister made an announcement to the effect that ownership of a telephone is treated as one of the indices to render a person liable to pay income-tax. It looks paradoxical. I would, therefore, urge the Finance Minister to withdraw it; (3) Though a good amount has been earmarked for the agricultural sector when a person who calls himself "the son of a farmenr" is the Prime Minister, this allocation should have been more.

7.00 P.M.

The regional imbalances in agricultural production warrant quite a few expensive and extensive measures. In the recent meetings of experts in the Agriculture Ministry some measures were suggested. There was some reduction in allocation last year. But things should not be made to wait for long. The increase in allocation for sports is only six per cent. It has been increased from Rs. 81 crores to Rs. 86 crores. If we want to translate the

targets into achievements a higher allocation is needed. I would request the Finance Minister to be considerate enough to enhance allocation for sports to at least Rs. 200 crores.

While we commend this Budget so profusely for providing thousands of crores of rupees for Plan and non-Plan, the Assam budget shows a huge deficit and the State Government is reeling under the pressing need of meeting the recent burden of Rs. 3.26 crores spent on anti-terrorist policies and army operations.

With these words, I conclude.

7.00 P.M.

उपसभापतिः गोपाल विट्ठलराव पाटिल जी, आपकी पार्टी का टाइम खत्म हो गया है। आपकी पार्टी ने 17 मिनट ज्यादा ले लिये हैं।

श्री सतीश अग्रवालः आपका अग्रिम धन्यवाद। ...(**व्यवधान**)..

उपसभापतिः मैं उन्हें टाइम नहीं दे रही हूं। मैं बता रही हूं कि आपकी पार्टी ने 17 मिनट ज्यादा ले लिए हैं। आपके साथ अन्याय नहीं किया।

श्री सतीश अग्रवालः मैडम, आप रिकार्ड पर क्यों जा रही हैं।

श्री गोपालराव विट्ठलराव पाटिल (महाराष्ट्र): मैडम, मैं दस मिनट लूंगा।

उपसभापतिः दस मिनट तो नहीं, तीन-चार मिनट बोल लीजिए। मैं आपको बताऊं कि मेरे पास बिजिनेस क्या है? There are two Bills and one Statement.

श्री गोपालराव विट्ठलराव पाटिलः कल बोल दूं?

उपसभापतिः कल नहीं इसके बाद यह खत्म हो गया है। आप बोलिए। बम्बई के रहने वाले दो-तीन प्वाइंट भी नहीं बोलेंगे।

DR. GOPALRAO VITHALRAO PATIL: Madam, I thank you for giving me this opportunity. The Budget is anti-inflationary. It is market-friendly and broker-friendly. Therefore, It is pro-rich. The corollary is that it is anti-poor and anti-farmer. The last man in the ladder of social structure is the agricultural worker. His wages have gone down from 5 per cent to 0.7 per cent. Therefore, his condition has become worse. The common man is suffering a lot both in the urban areas and in the rural areas. Their condition has become worse. I will give one example, of sanitation. We are celebrating the Golden Jubilee of our Independence, but we have not been able to provide any toilet facilities to women in rural areas. It is a matter of shame and humiliation because our sister, mothers and daughters have to go in the open to answer the call of nature. The Minister should have provided about two million toilets for ladies in rural areas. that is my first submission.

Now I would like to talk about poverty and the methodology of determining poverty. There are so many methods for determining poverty. Through some statistical jugglery the previous Government said that poverty is 16 per cent. The present Government and the Planning Commission are saying that it is 36 per cent. But the dual pricing system in PDS which the present Government wants to bring will go awry because Rs. 8,000 crores which the Minister has provided in the Budget will not be enough for this purpose.

Therefore, this will go wrong. The methodology adopted is quite strange. Somebody said that people who do not get 2,250 calories in a day will be treated as people living below the poverty-line. But if you apply this principle, the rich will also become poor. The rich people do not take more calories. They just subsist on 1500 to 1800 calories a day. Therefore, the percentage of rich people becoming poor will also increase and so, we may land up with more than 50 per cent people living below the poverty-line. But this is not correct. This is not a fact. Therefore, the Budget which is required to support the PDS will go awry. As far as tax structure is concerned, he has

given a lot of tax exemptions. The tax on personal income has also been reduced. Corporate tax has been reduced from 40 per cent to 35 per cent. He has totally abolished tax on dividends. Some alterations have been made in the case of MAT. Some such sops have been given to people. This is very, very strange. The assumption is that with lower taxes, more and more people will start paying taxes. But this assumption may go wrong. Therefore, all our projections may not come up to the mark. The highest tax in our country is 30 per cent. Whereas in European countries, it is up to 50 per cent. Even in the case of other developed countries, it is slightly more. A person earning Rs. 30,000 per month will be requird to pay 20 per cent as tax. This is a very small amount which the Government will be realising. There may be non-compliance because of the fact that people are not in the habit of paying taxes. This will be the case even if it is reduced to 10 per cent. There is corruption. This may lead to further generation of black money. As far as black money is concerned, the Voluntary Diclosure Scheme has been offered. Even previously, such schemes were offered. But it did not result in the realisation of more money for the Government. Peoples' saving habits are also not being encouraged in this Budget. People are scared of putting their money in banks because so many strange things happen in banks. The banks say that they have Rs. 40,000 crores worth of non-performing assets. Where has this money gone? Who has swindled this money? Because of all this, people are scared to put their money in banks. Will the Minister reveal the names of the 20 people who are bad debtors? How much money is with them.

उपसभापति : पाटिल जी कन्क्लूड करिए।

DR. GOPALRAO VITHALRAO PATIL: The insurance sector is being opened to the private people. This is a questionable thing. We feel this is not a wise decision. At the same time it has been opened to foreign investment also. This is also not a wise decision. How do you propose to reduce high interest rates? Have you taken any decision on the retirement age of Government employees? Have you accepted all the recommendations of the 5th Pay commission?

Sir, you said you would produce a paper on direct and indirect subsidies, after taking all people into confidence and discussing this with all the leaders. But this assurance is not fulfilled. So, I suggest that the infrastructure also should be strengthened. For example, power generation. I will give an example. In the power sector last year only 534 megawatts were generated. But in the last two years, more than 4,500 megawatts were generated. Power is a very important sector. Can't we have a national policy? For generation of one megawatt of power various companies offer from Rs. 1.5 crores to five crores. So if we call all the experts, the Ministers and the Chairman of Power Boards and discuss in totality and coordinate our efforts, I think we may dispel all misconceptions. For example, there is one project, Enron. The Chairman of that project said that there were 120 hurdles and it took one year to clear these hurdles before the project was cleared. So to avoid these things if we have coordination, that will be welcome. With these suggestions, I thank you, Madam, for giving me this opportunity. (Ends)

SHRI JOHN F. FERNANDES: Regarding Enron, earlier Shiv Sena and BJP opposed it in Bombay.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I know. Strange things happen in this world. Now the descussion on the Budget is over. The reply of the Finance Minister will take place tomorrow after the Question Hour at 12 o'clock. I have two items of legislative business and one Statement. One is, the National Commission for Safai Karamcharis (Amendment) Bill, 1997. I have gone through the Bill. It is a positive Bill. It is a good Bill. I don't think

anybody will oppose it. If the House so agrees, we can get it passed without discussion.

SHRI SATISH AGARWAL: As far as Safai Karamcharis (Amendment) Bill is concerned, it can be passed without debate. If it is supported, there is no problem.

SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA (Karanataka): Agarwal ...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Hanumanthappa do you want to speak?

SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA: I am not opposing it.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Hanumanthappa is the Chairman of SC-ST Commission. One or two points he can give which may be of some use and guidance to the Minister. But please keep in mind that we do not have time. Mr. Minister, please move the motion. You may not make a speech.

DR. BIPLAB DASGUPTA: We all would like to speak in that case. Madam, we want that you should speak on our behalf.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I am not speaking. I want to support this Bill. That is all. Hanumanthappaji, if you have any good suggestion, will you please send it to the Minister?

Anyway, Mr. Minister, just move it first. *(Interruptions)* He is moving it. *(Interruptions)* I said, you move the Bill. Of course, I will be happy if you come to the front bench. In any case, you are a front-bencher. *(Interruptions)* I think I should be happy that at the fag end of the day we still have our sense of humour. We are not looking really tired or angry.

THE NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR SAFAI KARAMCHARIS (AMENDMENT) BILL, 1997

THE MINISTER OF WELFARE (SHRI BALWANT SINGH RAMOOWALIA): Madam, I move:

That the Bill to amend the National Commission for Safai Karamcharis Act, 1993, be taken into consideration.

The question was put and the motion was adopted.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: We shall not take up clause-by-clause consideration of the Bill.

Clauses 2 and 3 were added to the Bill.

Clause 1, the Enacting Formula and the Title were added to the Bill.

SHRI BALWANT SINGH RAMOOWALIA: Madam, I move: That the Bill be passed.

The question was put and the motion was adopted.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now, my suggestion is that Hanumanthappaji should send his suggestions, if any, to the Minister.

There is a statement to be made by Shri T.R. Baalu, Minister of State in the Ministry of Petroleum and Natural Gas. This is regarding New Exploration Licensing Policy. And I have the names of three Members who want to seek clarifications. *(Interruptions) One second, please. There is also a Statutory Resolution regarding Port Laws (Amendment) Ordinance, 1997, which is to be moved by Satish Agarwalji and other, but let me first find out. Are you going to have a discussion on this? ...(Interruptions)*

SHRI JOHN. F. FERNANDES (Goa): Madam, this is an ordinance. *(Interruptions)*

DR. BIPLAB DASGUPTA (West Bengal): Madam we are not ready to have discussion today. *(Interruptions)*